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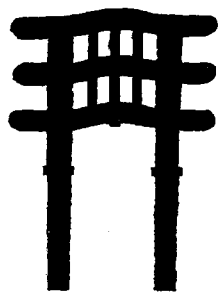
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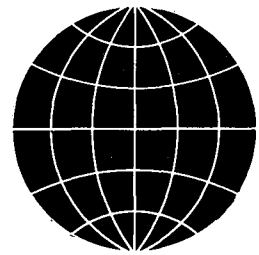
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George Canning, Great Britain, and the United States, 1807-1809

Bradford Perkins

NO historian, however bold, has ever maintained that George Canning was a sentimental friend of the United States, nor is any scholar likely to do so in the future. Canning's flirtation[1] in 1823 with Richard Rush, scotched by that gentleman and a prim Yankee chaperon in Washington, is rightly seen as having been motivated chiefly by a desire to spite the European family, little if at all because of affection for America. More positively, historians remember Canning, who held Cabinet office as foreign secretary for the first time from 1807 to 1809, for his part in the framing of Orders in Council, for his rejection of David M. Erskine's agreement with the Madison administration in 1809, and for his supercilious tone toward the United States. Without attempting to rehabilitate Canning in American eyes, it is possible, after examining manuscript materials in England, to point out certain qualifications that must be taken into account when weighing Canning's American policy in these early years. Canning resisted the pressure of

[1] The use of this term for the Canning-Rush conversations in the summer of 1823 originated with the Foreign Secretary himself. See Canning #1 to Charles Bagot, Private and Confidential, Jan. 22, 1824, Charles Bagot Papers, Levens Hall, Westmorland (used with the permission of O. R. Bagot, Esq.).

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public opinion and repudiated the attack on the *Chesapeake,* the Orders in Council of November, 1807, by no means reflect all of his views, and the Order of 1809, for which he was largely responsible, was a camouflaged surrender to the United States. These things should be remembered when Canning is condemned for his acquiescence in and later defense of the Orders of 1807, for his rigidity in negotiations with William Pinkney, for his extremely harsh rejection of the Erskine agreement, and for the almost insulting appointment of Francis James Jackson as minister to the United States.

One of Canning's great failings, particularly at this stage of his career, was that he was more often clever than wise. He could not resist the temptation to pose as a staunch defender of English rights and liberties or, by the use of acid flings, to score debating points against his adversaries. Canning's extreme language had secured him a reputation as an Americanophobe even before he entered the Foreign Office in 1807. Henry Adams wrote of Canning that "if his taste had been as pure as his English, he would have taken rank with the greatest English orators."[2] Adams might have added that if Canning's depth had equaled his brilliance, he would have taken rank sooner among the great British foreign secretaries. As it was, from 1807 to 1809 the less mercurial American minister, William Pinkney, often worsted Canning in their disputations simply because the Foreign Secretary could not restrain his pen. Furthermore, as Lord Henry Petty pointed out in the House of Commons, when Canning's notes were published in America "the whole public mind . . . was insulted by his ill-placed irony."[3] It was Canning's attitude almost as much as the policies of his government that affronted his adversaries.

In considering the ministry's course from 1807 to 1809, it is well to remember certain basic facts. British opinion demanded a vigorous policy against the French, particularly when, in the summer of 1807, Napoleon began to enforce the Berlin Decree for the first time. The rights of neutrals were scorned; as William Cobbett phrased it, in typically forthright language: "Our power upon the waves enables us to dictate the terms, upon which the ships of all nations shall navigate. . . . Not a sail should be hoisted, except by stealth, without paying us tribute."[4] One result of such thinking was the brutal attack upon Copenhagen. Significantly, the Opposition was unable to present a united front against this aggression. With feeling in Britain at an aggressive pitch, it is small wonder that Canning, Portland,

[2] *History of the United States of America During the Second Administration of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1890), II, 61.
[3] *Parliamentary Debates* (T. C. Hansard, ed.), XII, 1208–1209.
[4] *Cobbett's Political Register* (London), XII, 420.

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and their colleagues did not advocate for Britain a liberal policy toward, as one conservative journal put it, "a nation that owes to it half the property she possesses, and is destined, to owe to it her preservation from the fate that has attended Continental Europe."[5]

Furthermore, during these years Jefferson's policy, rightly or wrongly, did not command the respect of Britain. "America," one British statesman wrote, ". . . is no longer a bugbear; there is no terror in her threats."[6] Down to 1807 words and not deeds seemed to be the rule; thereafter, the impact of the Embargo was vitiated by evasion and domestic opposition. Although British envoys to America sometimes warned that war was possible, they all usually reported that the American government was torn by dissension, Federalism was gaining ground, and hostilities were unlikely. An erroneous view of the situation in the United States no more excuses the policy of Canning and the Portland ministry than does the state of British opinion, but these two factors do go far to explain why such a policy developed. Even so, the Americans were never treated as harshly as, for example, the Danes. The government realized that the preservation of American neutrality was desirable and made certain limited efforts to conciliate the United States.

Both sides of the ministry's attitude appear in the handling of the *Chesapeake* affair. On July 24, 1807, dispatches reached Portsmouth from Admiral Berkeley, the commander at Halifax who had, incidentally, received his appointment from the pro-American Ministry of All the Talents despite misgivings on the part of Lord Grenville. On the twenty-fifth, Berkeley's reports were delivered to the Admiralty, and an emergency Cabinet soon convened. The subject under discussion was, of course, H.M.S. *Leopard*'s attack upon U.S.S. *Chesapeake* and the *Leopard*'s subsequent removal of four seamen from the American warship. The ministers decided to disavow Berkeley, whose orders were responsible for the affair; he was recalled, but he soon took up a more important command. Although Britain offered compensation for the attack upon the *Chesapeake,* Canning firmly refused to allow President Jefferson to connect this incident with a general discussion of impressment. These actions, in the context of the times, were less harsh than they sometimes appear.

From the British point of view, there was powerful provocation for some action against America, if not for an armed assault upon the United States Navy. According to Berkeley, he had consistently tried "to conciliate the American Government by the discharge of every Seaman who could bring

[5] *Leeds Intelligencer,* Dec. 25, 1809.

[6] Viscount Sidmouth to Charles Abbot, Oct. 18, 1807, Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester, ed., *The Diary and Correspondence of Charles Abbot, Lord Colchester* (London, 1861), II, 132.

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the smallest proof of his being an American." But this conciliatory policy had borne no fruit. The Americans, it was claimed, allowed the French Navy to reclaim deserters but refused to return seamen from the Royal Navy, many of whom "openly parade[d] the streets of Norfolk . . . bidding defiance to their Officers when spoken to." In addition, and despite Navy Department orders to the contrary, the *Chesapeake* enlisted many Englishmen. Estimates as to the number of English-born seamen on the *Chesapeake* varied, and doubtless British guesses did not err on the side of moderation, but Berkeley at least claimed that the total was about 150.[7] A later and completely independent estimate placed the number at two hundred and added that Decatur, who succeeded Barron after the attack, had refused to permit sixty or seventy Britons to return to the Royal Navy although they desired to do so.[8] Finally, of the four deserters taken from the *Chesapeake* by force, one was an Englishman and the other three were Americans who had volunteered and had not been impressed.[9] These ameliorating circumstances apparently helped Berkeley escape severe punishment.[10]

In going as far as it did—that is, in disavowing the attack and reaffirming that Britain did not claim a right to search warships—the government acted contrary to overwhelming opinion in England. In some ways it is surprising that the new ministry, not yet firmly established in power, did not take the popular course. Almost every important organ of opinion in Britain defended the attack upon the *Chesapeake* and proclaimed its deathless devotion to the right of search, even when applied to neutral warships. The leading newspaper of the Opposition, the London *Morning Chronicle,* supported later by the *Edinburgh Review,* stood almost alone in arguing to the contrary. Some papers, like the *Caledonian Mercury,* the London *Star,* the *Leeds Intelligencer,* and the *Times,* were relatively moderate, expressing a hope that war could be avoided. But even the *Times* generally defended Berkeley for his forthright action in the face of the steady American seduction of British seamen. "It is impossible an insult and act of manifest injustice like this [seduction]," said the *Times,* "could have been passed over by any British

[7] Berkeley to William Marsden, Feb. 2, 1807, Admiralty Records, Public Record Office, Adm 1/497; Berkeley to Marsden, Mar. 23, 1807, *ibid.;* Berkeley to Marsden, July 27, 1807, and enclosure, *ibid.*

[8] Admiral Sir John B. Warren to William Wellesley Pole, Mar. 28, 1808, and enclosure, Adm 1/498.

[9] Anthony Steel, "More Light on the *Chesapeake,*" *Mariner's Mirror,* XXXIX (1953), 250–51.

[10] Berkeley was also helped by his powerful political connections. He himself was a Member of Parliament, his brother was an important factional leader, and one member of the Cabinet was the Admiral's brother-in-law.

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Officer who knew his duty, and left to a tedious and protracted discussion between the two Governments."[11]

This was moderate language by comparison with that of other editorial writers, several of whom wrote beneath the heading "War with America." The *Morning Post,* strongly ministerial, argued that "The order of Admiral Berkeley to search the American frigate, appears to have been dictated by the most delicate caution, and to have enjoined nothing which was not fully justified by the extraordinary circumstances of the case." The paper added its trust that "Great Britain will not be . . . scrupulous and delicate about forms in enforcing her maritime rights, when her very existence depends upon the due maintenance of them."[12] Enemies of the regime agreed, notably William Cobbett, who "contend[ed] for the right of searching for deserters, upon the general principle, that the seas are *the dominion* of those who are able to maintain mastery over all that swims upon them."[13]

It would have been easy, in 1807, to whip up support by cultivating such opinion. To Canning's credit, he did not do so. Instead, the Foreign Secretary acted quickly to minimize the effect of the unfortunate clash both at home and in America. Upon receiving Berkeley's preliminary dispatches, he wrote to Monroe that "if the British Officer should prove to have been culpable, the most prompt and effectual Reparation shall be afforded to the Goverment of the United States."[14] Canning then called in George Sansom, acknowledged spokesman for the merchants trading with the United States. He told Sansom—and this information was soon in the papers—that, while it was impossible to be certain about the future, his first exchanges with Monroe gave every hope that some settlement could be reached. He assured the public through Sansom that "Ministers will neither compromise the honour of their country, nor give any sanction to a wanton attack upon any other State with which we are in amity."[15] This statement was a warning to extremists that the Royal Navy might have been at fault and made quite clear that the British government did not intend to be rushed into either war or surrender.

It is possible that the Cabinet considered asserting a right under certain circumstances to search foreign warships. The Foreign Office archives contain a long and rather inconclusive memorandum by Sir John Nichol on this

[11] *Times* (London), Aug. 5, 1807. See also particularly the articles on July 28 and Aug. 10 and 26.
[12] *Morning Post* (London), Aug. 6, 1807.
[13] *Cobbett's Political Register,* XII, 245.
[14] Canning to Monroe, July 25, 1807, FO 5/34.
[15] *Sun* (London), July 30, 1807.

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question.[16] In the Perceval papers there is an equally lengthy, unsigned memorandum in Spencer Perceval's hand which reviews the arguments and firmly states that "My opinion is clear that it is both most expedient & politic & most right . . . to give up the right of Search of Ships of War."[17] On July 30, Lord Bathurst, a member of the Cabinet and Berkeley's brother-in-law, wrote that Berkeley's conduct had been unauthorized but that there was some legal opinion that the American attitude justified retaliation against warships of the United States:

> . . . it seems admitted by S^{r} William Scott and S^{r} John Nicholl who have been consulted on this business that our right of Search is derived from the circumstance of one of the parties being belligerent; and that the Neutral, by allowing men belonging to the Ships of War of the belligerents to enter into his Service, steps out of his Character of Neutral, by depriving the belligerent of his means of carrying on the War. All this would however have been a fitter subject of remonstrance from this Country, than an Order at once from our Admiral. Large allowances must be made for the provocations which he has for some time receiv'd: and had this arrived after a Victory instead of a defeat in Poland, we should have thought he had acted with great Spirit, and had been fully justified in his Orders.[18]

The question was thus reviewed by the Cabinet before Canning declared to Monroe that His Majesty's Government did not claim a right to search neutral warships. While no statement by Canning remains, he almost certainly agreed with his colleagues that these legal quibbles should not be exploited.

With this question settled, perhaps by default, the Foreign Secretary turned his attention once again to Monroe. One cannot fail to get the impression from their correspondence that Canning had decided delay was the best course, especially after Jefferson raised the issue of impressment. Although Canning made a great deal of it in his notes, Jefferson's proclamation banning the Royal Navy from American waters was actually, and rightly, regarded in Britain as an indication that the United States did not intend to rush into hostilities. Canning could afford irony and sarcasm.

It must be said that the Foreign Secretary scored a technical triumph over Monroe. He shrewdly anticipated Jefferson's course and emphasized his agreement with Monroe's feeling that the *Chesapeake* affair was "of itself

[16] Nichol, "Principles and Positions Applying to the American Question," n.d., FO 5/104.

[17] "Memoranda of heads of arg^{t} on the Execution of the Right of Search of American Ships of War & Trade," Perceval Papers, 29/31–33 (examined while temporarily on deposit at the Register of National Archives, London). See also the belligerent letter of Lord Hawkesbury, predicting strong action against the United States, Hawkesbury to —, n.d., Charles D. Yonge, *The Life and Administration of Robert Banks, Second Earl of Liverpool* (London, 1868), I, 241–42.

[18] Bathurst to Earl of Harrowby, Private, July 30, [1807], Harrowby MSS, Sandon Hall, Staffordshire (used with the permission of the Earl of Harrowby).

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of sufficient Importance to claim a separate and most serious consideration," not mixed with other issues.[19] When Monroe at last presented a formal protest linking the *Chesapeake* and impressment, Canning replied with a strong note, the product of two days' reflection in the country. He raised a number of points which he claimed might affect the amount of reparation due, without affecting the legality of the attack, and he firmly refused to unite the two issues as Jefferson demanded. He denied that the troubles over impressment grew out of British hostility toward the United States, insisting rather that the similarity of the two peoples caused unavoidable trouble. Then, in a very characteristic passage, he wrote:

> . . . these Circumstances cannot furnish an argument for the Suspension of the exercise of the right with respect to America, unless it be contended that multiplicity of frauds and difficulty of detection are reasons against Suspicion, or motives for acquiescence.

But Canning closed by somewhat modifying the harshness of his position and further developing his policy of delay, informing Monroe that he would send a special minister to the United States to try to settle the *Chesapeake* problem separately.[20] This phase of the matter ended with Canning complacently congratulating himself on his success:

> If they had taken our atonement by itself, as we offered it, they would have appeared to gain something. But they have so managed Matters that we shall now appear to bully them even in making reparation. Nothing could be more advantageous for us than the course which they have taken.[21]

The appointment of George H. Rose as special emissary to the United States has sometimes been criticized, largely because Rose's father had a reputation as an Americanophobe. But it seems that Rose simply followed Canning's instructions, and in any case he was not Canning's initial choice. The Foreign Secretary first offered the job to Nicholas Vansittart, an important member of the Sidmouth faction, which was then vacillating between support and opposition. After consulting his political allies, Vansittart declined.[22] Rose, the next choice, agreed to go.

Rose's mission doubtless served Canning's purpose, providing further delay while American tempers cooled somewhat. It is, incidentally, a sorry

[19] Canning to Monroe, Aug. 3, 1807, State Department Records, National Archives, Despatches, Great Britain, XII.

[20] Canning to Monroe, Sept. 23, 1807, *ibid.*

[21] Canning to Lord Boringdon, Sept. 30, 1807, Morley Papers, British Museum Add. MSS 48218.

[22] Vansittart to Canning, Oct. 6, 1807, enclosed in Vansittart to Sidmouth, Oct. 6, 1807, Sidmouth Papers, County Record Office, Exeter, Devon. See also Auckland to Grenville, Oct. 16, 1807, Grenville Papers, "Lord Auckland," Boconnoc, Lostwithiel, Cornwall (used with the permission of George Grenville Fortescue, Esq.).

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commentary on the diplomacy of Jefferson and Madison that, in January, 1808, they in effect agreed to separate the *Chesapeake* and impressment questions, but too late to secure the reparation that could once have been gained. Canning now insisted that this must be preceded by revocation of Jefferson's proclamation banning the Royal Navy from American waters. This was certainly not a generous position, but it provided an excuse for Rose to break off his negotiations in March, 1808. By that time, the *Chesapeake* issue had become less explosive and had been joined by other subjects of complaint more impartially weighted between Britain and France. "The premature fury," wrote Rose, ". . . was too violent to last, the feelings excited are deadened, and it would be difficult to move the Nation to War."[23]

In many ways, then, Canning could feel that he had satisfactorily handled the *Chesapeake* affair. At home, a careful course had been steered, one that dampened the initial emotional outburst in favor of Berkeley, abandoned an extreme claim, yet avoided outright surrender. Diplomatically, Canning acted cautiously until it seemed, from the information he had, that America would once again bluster rather than fight. He then treated the United States more cavalierly, but essentially his policy was one of delay, and it succeeded in its object. A more imaginative course would have been to use the American retreat on impressment as justification for a final settlement on the *Chesapeake,* but this was one that presupposed greater respect for America and more humility than Britain had. From an English point of view, Britain had escaped making an apology and war had been avoided.

The proclamation recalling British seamen to the Royal Navy, issued in October, is another indication of Canning's attitude. Although it has often been criticized by Americans as arrogant, this proclamation undermined anti-American opposition by strongly reaffirming the right of impressment while at the same time publicly stating that Britain did not claim a right to search warships. Cobbett attacked it as a surrender;[24] James Stephen, harshly inclined toward American commerce, believed it a concession, but a wise one;[25] Vansittart considered it an unwise and gratuitous surrender of a bargaining point.[26] Thus one cannot accuse Canning and the other ministers of issuing a proclamation which, in the context, may be considered anti-American.

After the possibility of war over the *Chesapeake* had been ended by Canning and Jefferson, but well before that issue had become a nagging,

[23] Rose #14 to Canning, Feb. 18, 1808, FO 5/56.
[24] *Cobbett's Political Register,* XII, 642, 673–83.
[25] Stephen, "Coup d'oeil on an American War," Perceval Papers, 33/98–105.
[26] Vansittart to Sidmouth, Oct. 21, [1807], Sidmouth Papers.

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unpleasant memory, the British government issued the Orders in Council of November, 1807. These Orders were probably the Portland ministry's greatest single contribution to the coming of war between Britain and the United States. They reversed a trend toward Francophobia in the United States and provided a principal field of controversy in later years. Canning certainly bears a large share of the responsibility for these Orders in Council; but he was not the author of them, urged some modifications upon his colleagues, and would have preferred a different system.

The Orders were worked out by the Cabinet in a two-week period in the middle of October. On the twelfth, Perceval submitted to his colleagues a long memorandum justifying strong action against commerce and proposing a complete stoppage of trade with France in colonial produce, a step well short of the action finally taken. The justificatory points were largely special pleading and somewhat contradictory.[27] Lord Sidmouth (to say nothing of the Americans later on) objected that it was unfair to claim that the United States had tolerated the Berlin Decree and thus forfeited her claims to British leniency, since Napoleon's order had only just begun to be enforced against America and Jefferson might react strongly.[28] Of the ministers, however, only Bathurst questioned the extension of the doctrine of retaliation proposed by Perceval. The others seemed to accept this without cavil. Canning, for example, wrote: "I have never for a moment doubted the *justice* of retaliating to the full extent."[29] He soon warned Monroe that since "the American Government has [not] taken any . . . effectual Steps, with respect to the decree of France . . ." Britain reserved the right of retaliation.[30]

The terms of the November Orders were less easily fixed than was the decision, in general terms, to act. During the Cabinet discussions, Perceval's original proposal to block only the colonial trade of France was considerably broadened, apparently largely at the suggestion of Lord Westmorland. Perceval's plan, to leave to neutrals—and all members of the government recognized that this meant chiefly the United States, plus Russia—a direct trade with France in their own produce, was replaced by a clumsily stated but virtually complete ban on all trade with western Europe save that which passed through Great Britain.

The only two members of the Cabinet who expressed serious misgivings about the new Orders were Canning and Bathurst. The latter criticized the

[27] Perceval memorandum, Oct. 12, 1807, Perceval Papers, 36/2.
[28] Sidmouth to Bragge Bathurst, [Dec. 1, 1807], George Pellew, *The Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon^ble Henry Addington, First Viscount Sidmouth* (London, 1847), II, 487.
[29] Canning memorandum, Oct. 14, 1807, Perceval Papers, 36/5.
[30] Canning to Monroe and Pinkney, Oct. 22, 1807, FO 5/54.

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Orders more strongly, both in the original form proposed by Perceval and in the final version, but in the end he acquiesced in the decision of his colleagues.[31] Canning's opposition was weak, but he did express some doubts. He recognized the dangers of the nakedly selfish form taken by the Orders, with their almost open purpose of gaining for Britain a near monopoly of trade with the Continent. Rather cynically he suggested that it would be better to "keep out of sight" the most flagrant privileges for British ships. Canning also gave his support to modifications in favor of neutral ships. In particular, he favored a less extensive but more enforceable blockade, not so offensive to neutrals:

> I would rather confine the measures to a part of the Countries in the occupation of the Enemy (a large part to be sure. France & Holland for instance) and apply it in all it's rigour to that part, than extend it to the whole, & relax it generally by complicated exceptions and regulations.[32]

Since the Jefferson administration had objected to Fox's Blockade of 1806, the United States probably would not have tolerated silently such a blockade as Canning suggested. Nevertheless, Canning was either somewhat more respectful of the rights of America or more aware of the possibilities of diplomatic controversy than were his colleagues.

The general line to be taken was decided, by the exchange of memoranda mentioned above, by October 26, 1807. On November 10 the Cabinet met to discuss technical aspects of the Orders, their extent, and the phraseology. The Orders were issued the next day, although it was later found necessary to add clarifying details. They were extremely difficult to understand—committees of merchants visited the Foreign Office several times seeking enlightenment—but Perceval's cool summary of them was fairly accurate:

> . . . if you [France] will not have *our* trade, as far as we can help it you shall have *none*. And as to so much of any trade as you can carry on yourselves, or others carry on with you through us, if you admit it you shall pay [us] for it.[33]

Certain relaxations, however, were included to make the Orders more palatable to the United States. Canning exaggerated when he described these concessions as proof that Britain was "actuated by the same Sentiments of Moderation by which His Majesty's conduct has been uniformly governed."[34]

[31] Bathurst memoranda, n.d., Perceval Papers, 36/20; Bathurst to Perceval, Nov. 5, 1807, *ibid.*, 36/21–22.

[32] Canning memorandum, Oct. 14, 1807, *ibid.*, 36/5.

[33] Perceval to Charles Abbot, rec'd. Dec. 1, 1807, *Diary and Correspondence of Lord Colchester*, II, 135.

[34] Canning #10 to Erskine, Dec. 1, 1807, Bernard Mayo, ed., *Instructions to the British Ministers to the United States, 1791–1812* (American Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1936*, III, Washington, 1941), pp. 242–46.

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The assurance that indirect trade to Europe through Britain would be charged no British duty so long as it was in American domestic produce, not reexported goods from the Caribbean, was hardly likely to cause jubilation in Madison, but from the British point of view two important concessions were made. In the first place, contrary to the Rule of the War of 1756, direct trade between enemy islands and the United States was permitted. This trade was one that America had always eagerly sought. Secondly—and this was done over Castlereagh's objections[35]—it was agreed that America should be allowed to reexport even the produce of the enemy's colonies through Britain to the Continent upon payment of duties. These relaxations of the Orders in Council were consciously planned, in Perceval's words, "to make it quite Clear to . . . America if she is wise to prefer the Neutral Trade that will be left to her, to the total stoppage of her trade with the Enemy, & with ourselves too which war might occasion."[36]

An overwhelming preponderance of the newspapers, and presumably the nation, at first supported the Orders in Council. Thereafter, the government's reputation was inextricably bound up with them. It was difficult to secure important changes, although the Opposition made the Orders a major issue of domestic politics and many ministerialists came to doubt that they were the final answer to Britain's commercial problems. Canning's acquiescence in the original Orders, which he did not wholeheartedly endorse, proved more important in the long run than his support of a later attempt to have them modified.

America answered the increasing virulence of the Anglo-French war upon neutral commerce with the Embargo. Most Englishmen at first considered the Embargo a positive assistance to Britain, despite the loss of the American market. By restraining American shipping and exports, the Embargo virtually ended the problem of neutral trade with France and conferred upon Great Britain a near monopoly of trade with the few remaining neutrals. Furthermore, it drove unemployed British seamen from America back to the service of their country. George H. Rose reported along these lines to Canning,[37] and David M. Erskine, the regular minister to the United States, a man of very different political attitudes, agreed with him.[38] On the basis of these reports, Canning felt that no concessions should be made in advance of the American proposals Pinkney had led him to expect and that "the Embargo in America seems to be working so well for us without our inter-

[35] Castlereagh to Portland, Oct. 26, 1807, Perceval Papers, 36/15–16.
[36] Perceval memorandum, Oct. 12, 1807, *ibid.*, 36/2.
[37] Rose #3 to Canning, Jan. 17, 1808, FO 5/56.
[38] Erskine #20 to Canning, June 4, 1808, FO 5/57.

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ference, that on that ground alone I confess I would wish that no new step should be taken . . ." by Britain.[39]

While Canning was later to review and revise his analysis, this attitude conditioned his policy during negotiations with William Pinkney. In conversations during the summer of 1808, Pinkney offered to suspend the Embargo with respect to Britain if she in turn would repeal the Orders in Council insofar as they affected the United States. If France refused to repeal her Decrees, Pinkney reasonably pointed out, the Embargo would remain in force against her and "take the place of your Orders, and lead, with an Efficacy not merely equal to theirs but probably much greater, to all the consequences that ought to result from them"; whereas, if France did withdraw her restrictions upon trade, "all the alleged purposes of the British Orders will have been at once fulfilled."[40] But since Canning was satisfied with the working of the Embargo, he did not seize upon this offer. In fact, he considered it so unimportant that he twice forgot to mention it to the king. After a good deal of delay, and with the support of the Cabinet, Canning rejected the American suggestion in a note which not only lacked the Foreign Secretary's usual forcefulness but also disingenuously evaded most of the points Pinkney had raised.[41]

By the time the Pinkney-Canning negotiations were reported to Parliament, early in 1809, the commercial and political situation of Britain had somewhat deteriorated. In particular, loss of trade with America had proved to be much more important than the government had anticipated. The Opposition therefore strongly attacked Canning. But the assault failed to strike fire, perhaps in part because, as Lord Auckland wryly remarked, referring to the lively scandal involving Mrs. Clarke and the Duke of York, "it is like Whistling to the Winds to talk about great public businesses, whilst the whole attention of the Country is occupied in discussion with Prostitutes & with Swindlers."[42]

Nevertheless, a new departure was already under consideration by Canning and others. In January, 1809, Lord Auckland reported "Symptoms of a desire among the King's Ministers to give way."[43] Only a wish not to seem to be surrendering to Jefferson restrained them. Then, in March, news

[39] Canning memorandum, Mar. 28, 1808, Perceval Papers, 36/27–28.

[40] Pinkney to Canning, Aug. 23, 1808, FO 5/60.

[41] Canning to Pinkney, Sept. 23, 1808, *ibid.* See also Canning to George III, Sept. 7, 1808, Georgian MSS, Windsor Castle, 13863; Pinkney to Canning, Oct. 10, 1808, FO 5/60; Canning to Pinkney, Nov. 22, 1808, *ibid.* (The author gratefully acknowledges the permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II to make use of material from the Royal Archives, Windsor.)

[42] Auckland to Grenville, Feb. 18, [1809], Grenville Papers, "Lord Auckland."

[43] Auckland to Grey, Jan. 27, 1809, Grey Papers, "From 1st Lord Auckland," Durham University.

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reached Britain that the Embargo would almost certainly be repealed. Thus the embarrassment of seeming to be coerced by the Americans was removed. Canning exulted that "the Yankees have been obliged to give way" and immediately requested Bathurst to meet with him to discuss future policy.[44] In mid-April Auckland, who planned to attack the Orders in the House of Lords, wrote to Grenville: "It was hinted to me to day that it was desirable to postpone this subject for a few days when it was probable that something w[d]. be announced respecting it."[45]

The Opposition, the country, and the United States did not have long to wait. As early as July, 1808, Bathurst had suggested that the Orders be replaced by a stricter but geographically less extensive blockade of France and her immediate dominions, "a strong Order against France, which would not be liable to the present Objections & which America would certainly not feel as an advantage gained over us." Nothing came of this plan, which closely resembled Canning's suggestions in 1807, nor of a second attempt in October.[46] But in April, 1809, Bathurst and Canning tried again. The President of the Board of Trade and the Foreign Secretary agreed that the apparently impending repeal of the Embargo provided a good psychological setting. Canning even urged speedy action to minimize the chance of contradictory news, since "A fresh arrival from America might embarrass us."[47] Bathurst circulated a memorandum through the Cabinet, accompanied by a note of approval from Canning.[48] Not a single minister objected to the general proposal, although Perceval apparently convinced his colleagues that the Orders of 1807 should be gently replaced rather than directly repudiated.[49] On April 27 and 28, the most important merchants trading with America, including Alexander Baring, met with Bathurst and his colleagues to discuss details of the new system.[50]

The Order in Council of 1809 closely followed the original conception of Bathurst and Canning. A general blockade was declared against Napoleon and his immediate satellites, as well as against French colonies.[51] Germany

[44] Canning to Bathurst, Mar. 24, 1809, Francis Bickley, ed., *Report on the Manuscripts of Earl Bathurst* (Historical Manuscript Commission, *Reports*, London, 1923), pp. 86–87.

[45] Auckland to Grenville, Apr. 19, [1809], Grenville Papers, "Lord Auckland."

[46] Bathurst memorandum, July 29, 1808, FO 5/61; Bathurst to Perceval, rec'd. Oct. 21, 1808, Perceval Papers, 33/107–108.

[47] Canning to Bathurst, Apr. 7, 1809, *Bathurst Manuscripts*, p. 87.

[48] Bathurst memorandum, Apr. 12, [1809], *ibid.*, pp. 87–88; Canning memorandum, Mar. 30, 1809, *ibid.*, p. 89.

[49] Perceval memorandum, n.d., *ibid.*, p. 89.

[50] *Courier*, Apr. 28 and 29, 1809.

[51] This last provision rescinded a concession contained in the Orders of 1807. Perceval suggested a limited opening of the British West Indies as an equivalent, but Liverpool and Eldon blocked this move (Perceval memorandum, n.d., *Bathurst Manuscripts*, p. 89; Liverpool memorandum, n.d., *ibid.*; Eldon memorandum, n.d., *ibid.*).

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and the Baltic were opened to American commerce. In addition, the issuance of licenses to trade with Europe was put under strict regulations; an attempt was made to prevent discrimination against American ships and to reduce license charges, although these rules later came to be violated; and the schedule of duties on goods in transit through the British Isles to Europe was sharply lowered. These points went far to meet the American government's complaints against the British system, in substance, if not in principle. The Orders of November, 1807, were allowed to pass quietly away. Perceval explained in reply to a taunting Opposition query that "they were not actually rescinded, but they were put in a state of modification which amounted to nearly the same effect."[52]

The government hoped the new Order in Council would lessen friction with the United States, although it denied making any concession and insisted—in public—that the Republicans had acted first, baring their teeth at Britain's enemy, Napoleon, by cutting off trade with France and closing American waters to French warships. The United States did not recognize blockaded Holland as a Napoleonic satellite, but nobody believed that an attempt to trade with that country would bring about a serious controversy. In any case, America, it was felt, should be required to concede something.[53] The major question, whether or not the United States would accept the broad new blockade as an effective and legal one, was almost ignored, it seems, by the ministers. All assumed, or strongly hoped, that the disappearance of the Orders in Council of 1807 would lead to the restoration of comity with the United States.

The new decree came under fire from two opposite directions. On the one hand, conservatives objected that the government was truckling to the United States. On the other hand, the Opposition loudly proclaimed its satisfaction that the government had finally seen the misguidedness of a policy which wiser men had steadily opposed. Grenville, for example, wrote that "Ministers have at last given up their nonsensical orders in Council."[54] The *Morning Chronicle* positively crowed over the corpse of the November Orders and added: "What has induced Ministers to make such concessions, so contrary to the boasted policy they have hitherto promulgated, we do not pretend to determine."[55]

The ministerial papers attempted to thread a narrow line between these two attitudes. They denied that the new Order was a surrender to America,

[52] *Times,* Apr. 29, 1809.
[53] Canning to Bathurst, Private, Apr. 15, 1809, *Bathurst Manuscripts,* p. 90.
[54] Grenville to Grey, Apr. 28, 1809, Grey Papers, "From Ld. Grenville."
[55] *Morning Chronicle* (London), Apr. 28, 1809.

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although emphasizing that Pinkney had "been heard to express himself in the highest terms of satisfaction, of the liberality and candour of his Majesty's Ministers."[56] Instead, supporters of the government argued that, although the old Orders had proven successful, the Cabinet was testing American *bona fides* by a wise experiment that might lead to great gains for England. The *Morning Post* wrote:

> In this spirit it is that after experiencing the most beneficial effects from the operation of the Orders of Council regarding the Commerce of Neutrals, our Ministers have fairly met, by a liberal regulation of those Orders, the amicable provision of the last act of the American Legislature, in respect to the terms upon which its commercial intercourse with this country should be renewed.[57]

Furthermore, the new blockade, it was claimed, would actually operate more effectively against French commerce, and the measure would bring greater unity in England, "as it concedes some points much dwelt upon by the Opposition, in both Houses of Parliament."[58] These arguments were, however, expressed in a defensive and somewhat touchy manner; they were also obviously contradictory. Britain in general felt that a major concession had been made to the United States and to commercial coercion.

The Order of 1809 was therefore an important gesture on the part of England. Less than eighteen months after the Orders in Council of November, 1807, the Portland government executed a scarcely concealed retreat in the face of American pressure. A leader in this maneuver was George Canning, and the episode goes far to show that he was not blindly anti-American and had the courage to advocate a step open to embarrassing criticism. The new approach did not lead to a settlement, but from the British point of view it was a positive step. All that seemed to be required was similar wisdom and good spirit on the part of the American administration. If Canning and his colleagues had been better informed about the situation in the United States (Erskine grossly exaggerated the desire of the Republicans for a face-saving arrangement), they would certainly not have embarked so hopefully upon this course. One shrewd merchant engaged in the American trade wrote:

> . . . a good has been done, but with an ill grace, and I fear more from necessity than choice. If however other concessions are made, almost equally essential, I think a foundation will be laid for the restoration of that friendly intercourse which it is the interest of both countries to establish.[59]

[56] *Edinburgh Evening Courant,* May 1, 1809.
[57] *Morning Post* (London), Apr. 29, 1809.
[58] *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh), May 1, 1809. See also the *Courier,* particularly the issue of Apr. 28, 1809.
[59] Thomas Mullett to Samuel Whitbread, May 3, 1809, Whitbread Papers, 3805, Southill, Biggleswade, Bedfordshire (used with the permission of Colonel William H. Whitbread).

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But the ministry was fully satisfied that it had taken an important step, and it sat back to await plaudits from the other side of the Atlantic.

The anticipated Madisonian applause never came because, at almost exactly the same time that the new Order was issued, the President and Secretary of State Robert Smith concluded negotiations with David M. Erskine that, with their ramifications, soon pushed the Order in Council of 1809 temporarily into the background. These negotiations grew out of instructions reflecting reports from Erskine that leading members of the American government had hinted to him that some sort of arrangement on the rights of neutrals and belligerents was desired. Canning's instructions—a whole bundle of them was sent to Erskine on January 23, 1809, long before the new Order in Council—provided also for settlement of the *Chesapeake* affair, but the commercial question was the central one. The Foreign Secretary offered to repeal the Orders in Council if the United States formally and publicly endorsed three stipulations: that British trade should be freely admitted to American ports while that of France remained excluded, that the United States admit the "made in Britain" Rule of the War of 1756 as a legitimate principle, and that the Washington government permit the Royal Navy to seize American ships violating their own country's ban on trade with France.[60]

Erskine found it impossible to get Secretary Smith—and Madison, who pulled the strings in the background—to accept these conditions formally. Knowing full well that he was violating his instructions but insisting that he adhered to their spirit, Erskine chose to regard informal American explanations on Canning's three points as satisfactory. The agreement, which took the form of an exchange of notes, was extremely simple: Erskine promised that the Orders in Council "will have been withdrawn, as respects the United States on the 10th. day of June next," and Smith replied that trade with Britain would accordingly be reopened. This exchange was considered to be preliminary in nature, and, as Canning had originally suggested, a special envoy was to come from Britain to work out details. "In the mean Time," Erskine wrote, "no injury can be derived, I conceive, from that *conditional Agreement.*"[61] Such was far from the case, for repudiation of the agreement soon exacerbated feelings on both sides of the Atlantic.

News of the Erskine agreement reached Britain on May 22. That very day Canning angrily composed a rebuke to his subordinate, although a formal disavowal was not dispatched until a week later. On the twenty-third

[60] Canning #2 to Erskine, Jan. 23, 1809, *Instructions to British Ministers,* pp. 264–65.

[61] Erskine #20 to Canning, Apr. 20, 1809, FO 5/63, and enclosures, particularly Erskine to Smith, Apr. 19, 1809, and Smith to Erskine, Apr. 19, 1809.

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the Cabinet met for four hours to discuss the situation, which suggests that Canning's decision was carefully examined by his colleagues. The next day, Lord Bathurst informed merchants engaged in trade with the United States that the government would not sanction the agreement. A short time later Canning told the House of Commons that Erskine had acted in complete derogation of his instructions.

There was little immediate criticism of the ministers' decision not to ratify the Erskine-Smith exchange. Lord Grenville, it is true, privately declared himself grieved that Britain had turned its back upon an opportunity to "cultivate . . . the only connection which promises us any real advantage."[62] But Lord Grey was cautious,[63] the party's newspaper made no attempt to exploit the issue, and even the *Times,* then in a maverick stage, reversed itself within a week after initially praising the agreement as a first step toward amity.[64] Not a single important public voice was raised to challenge the government, and most journals expressed relief that this craven surrender had not been ratified.

As a matter of fact, both the Opposition and ministerial papers criticized the government for declaring that ships which sailed from America for Europe in a belief that the Orders in Council had been lifted would not be seized. Canning's attempt to minimize the impact of repudiation in America was attacked as an overly generous concession and one that would operate to the strong disadvantage of British merchants while relieving the pressure on Napoleon. The *Times,* for example, complained:

> . . . as American warehouses are now full of goods, they will of course be emptied, and the Continental markets supplied, we may say for years, after the permission to trade with them directly has ceased: so that the injury is not limited to the duration of two months, but will be sensibly felt by the English merchant, so long as the hoard of merchandize poured into the Continental markets during those two months is in a state of consumption.[65]

Thus the government reaped greater unpopularity by protecting innocent American merchants who had rushed their goods to sea than it did by rejecting the agreement David M. Erskine had made.

But it is the disavowal of Erskine that deserves serious consideration. Why did Canning and his colleagues decline to endorse this settlement? As a preliminary, it is best to emphasize that Erskine departed widely from his

[62] Grenville to Grey, May 26, 1809, Grey Papers, "From Ld. Grenville."
[63] Grey to Grenville, May 25, 1809, Grenville Papers, "M^{r}. Grey L^{d}. Howick Earl Grey, 1808–1813."
[64] *Times,* May 23, 25, 26, and 31, 1809.
[65] *Ibid.,* May 26, 1809. See also *Courier,* May 26, 1809; *Morning Chronicle,* May 25 and 27, 1809.

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instructions. It was easy to defend repudiation from a technical point of view. Samuel Whitbread rashly—he was often rash—accused Canning of misleading the House of Commons with respect to the instructions, but he later had to admit his error.[66] Otherwise, the Opposition thought it best to ignore this point. In the British foreign service, if not in the American, violation of instructions was already considered a serious matter, seldom to be condoned, particularly in a young and inexperienced minister.

In particular, Erskine ignored his directives by consenting to overlook each of the three stipulations demanded by the Foreign Secretary. Each one of these questions Canning saw as a matter of substance not lightly to be abandoned. The Foreign Secretary later said that "it was the *sine qua non* of the arrangement, that America should maintain her non-intercourse system against France."[67] Erskine's agreement omitted this point and left the way open for an American understanding with the French emperor, reopening trade and flooding the seas with ships carrying supplies to France. Secondly, Britain wanted to get the United States on record as accepting the Rule of the War of 1756, which had caused friction between the two countries. It was far from acceptance to have Smith state orally that the Rule would cause no trouble in the future, thus leaving him free to declare, as later he did, that the United States continued to resist this doctrine. Similarly, the lack of a stipulation permitting the Royal Navy to seize ships violating American law by trading with Europe was an important omission, and again Smith later denied that he had led Erskine to believe such a stipulation would be accepted.[68]

Lord Erskine may have been correct when he said, in defense of his son, that if a formal agreement had been signed and presented to a Congress "divided by contentious parties . . . not only the whole grace of the thing would have been lost, but so much ill blood stirred up . . . that the whole thing must have blown up."[69] Canning may have paid too little attention to American constitutional processes and party politics. It is perfectly possible that Smith would have taken a different line if Canning had endorsed the agreement. But the important point is that if the three conditions were only informally accepted, the United States was not bound. It retained its freedom of action, whereas Canning's central purpose was to tie America for the future.

[66] *Parliamentary Debates,* XVI, 736–37, 1039–43.
[67] *Ibid.,* XIV, 1025.
[68] Smith to Erskine, Aug. 9, 1809, enclosed in Erskine #34 to Canning, Aug. 31, 1809, FO 5/63.
[69] Lord Erskine to Grey, Aug. 27, 1809, Grey Papers, "From Ld. Erskine."

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Erskine completely misread Canning's intentions. The Foreign Secretary, on the basis of reports from his subordinate, believed that it was just barely possible that the new Republican administration would markedly alter the policy of the old. He did not fear the United States and after the weak policy of preceding years doubtless scarcely considered the possibility of war. Thus, although Canning spoke with cautious approval of the first "Symptom of a System of Impartiality," he really was seeking something more than an evenly balanced America. As he put it, the question of "the Sincerity of the good disposition professed by the persons composing the new American Administration, is the point the most important in the View of the British Government."[70] Was it ready, while staying out of the war, to join Britain in economic pressure upon France, either for commercial reasons or because America at last saw the threat of Napoleon in its true light? This was the question. The restrained, lawyer-like attitude of Smith and Madison was not what Canning had hoped for; their casuistry over his conditions showed that at best the United States was poised between the two belligerents. Canning had no desire to work toward an eventual removal of all British and French restrictions, and that was where the United States seemed to be heading. Erskine's agreement was a far cry from what Canning had in mind, a system whereby Britain should "relax or modify His [Majesty's] Measures of Retaliation and self-Defence, in proportion as those of Neutral Nations should come in aid of them and take their Place."[71]

Then, of course, there was the important question of prestige. In the view of many, Britain could not afford to show any weakness in dealing with lesser powers if she hoped to maintain the struggle against Napoleon. Yet Erskine had acted, according to Canning, "as if His Majesty had proposed to make Sacrifices to propitiate the Government of the United States, in order to induce it to consent to the Renewal of Commercial Intercourse."[72] Doubtless Canning, who always was annoyed when the Americans published diplomatic correspondence, thought ahead to the day when, inevitably, Madison would present to Congress the evidence of his triumph, the skill with which he had forced Britain to abandon the conditions she had set. The arrangement Erskine accepted did no more than meet an offer extended both diplomatically and later, through the Non-Intercourse Act, legislatively. The suggestion of reciprocal repeal was one that England had steadily refused to accept since the early days of the Embargo. Was she now to confess

[70] Canning #2 to Erskine, Jan. 23, 1809, *Instructions to British Ministers,* p. 264; Canning #4 to Erskine, Jan. 23, 1809, *ibid.,* p. 267.
[71] Canning #3 to Francis James Jackson, July 1, 1809, *ibid.,* p. 284.
[72] *Ibid.,* p. 283.

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her weakness by assenting? There could be but one answer to this question, as far as most Englishmen were concerned. As Canning said to Pinkney, in the existing state of the world, Britain not only could not concede, she must not even seem to concede.

Finally, and this is too seldom noticed, Erskine's arrangement undermined the Order in Council of 1809. Lord Erskine later declared that the real issue was not whether his son violated his instructions

> . . . but whether Ministers after they had themselves revoked the orders in council by their order of the 26th of April last, which reduced the differences with America to literally nothing were justified in not giving a latitude to their minister there to settle the small remainder at so critical a period.[73]

This reflection missed the point. The April Order was carefully planned to appear at least to be a spontaneous act, not a surrender. Here was a concealed offer to the United States, carefully framed; a major portion of the trade with Europe was reopened, but Holland was carefully excluded so that the United States too would have to recede from its position. Whether or not Madison would have accepted this offer is problematical, but he was relieved of the necessity for making the choice by Erskine's broader concessions. Canning would have preferred a tight agreement along the lines of his instructions of January 23 and must have been very angry that the less ambitious but still helpful plan embodied in the Order in Council was never seriously tested.

These, then, are some of the factors that apparently influenced Canning and convinced his colleagues. In the context of the time, all are understandable, although the Cabinet certainly did not take a long-term view of the consequences of rejection. Had the British government accepted the Washington settlement, the whole course of Madison's diplomacy might have been altered, as so many American historians have suggested. There might have been no War Hawks, no War of 1812.

But would the Erskine agreement really have ended Anglo-American discord? Later on Napoleon was shrewd enough to announce voluntarily the repeal of his decrees; he might have attempted the same gambit in 1809 under pressure, and if he had, we can only guess what would have followed. It is by no means certain, however, that the Erskine agreement would have welded the United States to Britain for any length of time. There still remained, for one thing, the issue of impressment, then quiescent but potentially explosive. In reality, each side was seeking something quite different: America wanted neutral commerce (especially that with France and her

[73] Lord Erskine to Grey, Sept. 28, 1809, Grey Papers, "From Ld. Erskine."

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dependencies) restored to the seas, Britain wanted a nonbelligerent ally in the struggle with Napoleon. Was this an adequate basis for a long-term settlement? Furthermore, it must always be remembered, as has been reiterated before, that Britain at this time saw little reason to fear the future hostility of the United States, weak and internally divided as it appeared to be.

Canning and his colleagues, then, may be condemned for lack of imagination; they may be criticized for refusing to risk little in search of great benefits. But we may not accuse them of having acted as they did simply because they detested Republicanism, James Madison, or the United States.[74]

A few months after this episode the British government was blown apart by Canning's intrigue to get Castlereagh pushed out of the war ministry, and Canning passed into the political wilderness. His only important effort to influence policy relating to the United States, until he returned to the Foreign Office in 1822, came in 1812 when he joined the Opposition in its call for a committee of inquiry into the Orders in Council. At that time Canning made it clear that, while he still favored commercial warfare against France, he strongly objected to the selfishness of the license system. As he put it, "while the belligerent under . . . constructive blockade kept out all neutrals, surely he could have no right to trade with the enemy himself."[75]

When Canning left office in the fall of 1809, Anglo-American relations were strained. They were much worse than they had been when the Ministry of All the Talents left office in 1807. But by comparison with his successor, the pompous and inflexible Marquis Wellesley, Canning was liberal in his dealings with the United States. Despite defects of character that irritated Americans and later influenced historians, Canning was not an Americanophobe. As a matter of fact, when he was primarily responsible for British foreign policy during one of her most serious crises, in the face of steady Napoleonic triumphs, he never completely lost sight of the advantages of American neutrality. His policies were not enlightened, but they were wiser than those advocated by his colleagues, and far more intelligent than those for which Britain's newspapers shrilly called. Canning prevented the *Chesapeake* affair from becoming even more serious than it was. He questioned the wisdom of the Orders in Council of 1807, and he doubtless sup-

[74] There is, however, little to be said in palliation of Canning's appointment of F. J. Jackson ("Copenhagen" Jackson) to succeed Erskine, to say nothing of the rigid instructions given that gentleman. Doubtless Canning was irked at Erskine's *fait accompli* and held the Americans responsible for inveigling the British minister into such a one-sided agreement. Doubtless, too, he felt that little could be hoped for from America for some time. But he might better have sent a minister of mild temper to develop a holding action and to attempt to submerge the new issue much as the *Chesapeake* affair had earlier been allowed to drift toward quiescence.

[75] *Parliamentary Debates,* XXI, 1139–49.

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ported the generally unnoticed concessions contained in those edicts. The Foreign Secretary and Bathurst were primarily responsible for the virtual repeal of these Orders embodied in the new policy of 1809. Although his reasoning is comprehensible, his rejection of the Erskine agreement was unfortunate, but even here an attempt was made to lessen American resentment by conceding special privileges to the ships that sailed when the agreement was signed. Thus, under Canning's leadership, Britain made several gestures in the direction of the United States. These concessions failed to have the desired effect, primarily because Canning and all Britain misunderstood Jefferson and Madison and underestimated the strength of America, and this failure contributed to increasing tension that culminated eventually in war. But it is a lack of vision, a failure of understanding, rather than malice, that may be charged against George Canning. His is not a discreditable record.

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The Movement to Abolish Capital Punishment in America, 1787-1861

David Brion Davis

INTEREST in the history of American feminism, temperance, abolitionism, and utopianism, has obscured the fact that for a generation before the Civil War the movement to abolish the death penalty was an important reform enterprise which aroused violent debate over the ultimate source of justice, the degree of human responsibility, the fallibility of the courts, the progress or decline of society, the metaphysical origins of good and evil, and the authority of the Bible. Although seldom mentioned in the standard social and intellectual histories of the period,[1] the antigallows movement won the support of prominent ministers, reformers, and men of letters and for over thirty years was a subject of heated controversy in the legislatures of many Northern states. Moreover, the movement was moderately successful, since three of these legislatures became the first governments in modern times to abolish the death penalty permanently. The purpose of this essay is to examine the background and implications of the capital punishment controversy in America and to trace the history of the movement before the Civil War.

Infliction of the death penalty for certain secular crimes, such as murder and robbery, was associated historically with the rise of the modern state, whose sovereign was both authorized and obligated to maintain peace within his particular domain.[2] In England the number of capital crimes multiplied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the increasing power of the state blurred the ancient distinction between public and private offenses. Executions were frequently justified by the rational arguments that they prevented victims from committing further crimes and that they served as a deterrent to potential criminals. But though the death penalty was rationally defended as a means for protecting the king's peace, it was never entirely

[1] The bibliography of secondary works on the history of the movement is surprisingly small. There is much sociological literature on the subject, but practically all of this concerns the contemporary problem. Louis Filler's "Movements to Abolish the Death Penalty in the United States," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 284, 124–36, sketches the major developments over a period of two centuries, but the only detailed studies are a number of articles by Albert Post on early state movements.

[2] George W. Kirchwey, "Capital Punishment," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman (New York, 1930), III, 192.

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dissociated from the primitive doctrine of retaliation for private wrongs. In primitive and modern societies alike, capital punishment seems to afford an emotional release from the profound anxiety and resentment often excited by crime,[3] although such release through projected aggression is usually given the sanction of religion or natural law. Thus by the eighteenth century the acceptance of capital punishment in Western nations involved both a rational theory of society's self-defense and an emotional belief in retributive justice.

The persistence of belief in revenge as the basis for punishment may be seen in John Locke, who was considered a fundamental authority on jurisprudence in America as late as the 1820's.[4] Ironically, Locke not only failed to apply the principles of empirical psychology to crime and punishment, but he sought to combine the ancient, irrational doctrine of retribution with the rational concept of a social compact, wherein the state chooses the most expedient means to protect life and property. He assumed that retribution was an inherent right of man when dictated by calm reason and conscience, which meant when in accordance with natural law. Locke did not inquire how a human being, whose mind began life as *tabula rasa,* became a "noxious Creature" deserving death. Yet he ruled that under the social compact, as in the state of nature, natural law demanded that an act of murder, for which no reparation could compensate, be invariably punished with death. Although the state might withhold punishment designed for the restraint of criminals, since this was essentially a function of government, no magistrate had the right to omit retributive punishment, thereby depriving injured citizens of reparation.[5]

Locke might try to preserve the ancient doctrine of "blood for blood" within his theory of social compact, but his sensational psychology was soon to undermine belief in retribution. For eighteenth-century liberals, who found the origins of evil in the human environment and not in agents of the devil or in man's innate depravity, retributive punishment violated both natural law and Christian sensibility. When the human mind was conceived as a plastic substance molded by accidental forces of experience, the criminal no longer seemed an alien from God's law, but rather an unfortunate victim of circumstances, perhaps still capable of penitence and salvation.

In the utilitarianism which emerged from Locke's sensational psychology, swift and harsh punishments were sanctioned in the name of

[3] J. C. Flugel, *Man, Morals and Society* (New York, 1945), pp. 143–74.
[4] Nathan Dane, *A General Abridgment and Digest of American Law, with Occasional Notes and Comments* (Boston, 1824), VI, 626–27.
[5] *The Works of John Locke . . .* (2d ed.; London, 1722), II, 161.

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deterrence and expediency. Jeremy Bentham and William Paley advocated penalties of such a degree as to outweigh the imagined profit or enjoyment derived from each offense, but their rejection of retributive punishment represented a significant departure from Lockian theory.[6] As reformers of the Enlightenment increasingly attacked cruel and barbarous punishments, conservatives found comfort in Paley's philosophy of social expediency, which justified capital punishment for any crime difficult to detect or prevent.[7] Without Locke's belief in an inherent right of retribution, however, the sensational psychology could also be used to demonstrate the essential guiltlessness of criminals and, combined with a compassionate sympathy for human suffering, could justify a humanitarian protest against the penalty of death.

In 1764 Cesare Beccaria, who was strongly influenced by Montesquieu and Voltaire, published his monumental *Essay on Crimes and Punishments.* The first systematic application of the principles of the Enlightenment to criminal law, Beccaria's treatise aroused the enthusiasm of reformers in Europe and America and strongly influenced Catherine II of Russia and Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, both of whom abolished capital punishment. Because Beccaria's *Essay* was reprinted in America as early as 1773 and thereafter provided arguments for reformers, it is necessary to outline his position on capital punishment with some care.

Beccaria assumed that individuals were compelled by a uniform and incessant desire to act in their own self-interest, unless this selfish force were met with some opposing obstacle. Unlike Locke, he held that men had not voluntarily submitted to the social compact but were prevented only by force from regressing to barbarism and anarchy.[8] Punishments should, therefore, be "political obstacles," designed by the legislator to promote the greatest happiness for the greater number of citizens.[9] By dispensing with the voluntary social compact, Beccaria could avoid Locke's deduction that the natural rights of self-defense and retribution had been ceded to society by each individual.

But if the state was bound to enforce social harmony by associating "last-

[6] Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (London, 1879), pp. 170, 179, 193; Paley, *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (7th ed.; Philadelphia, 1788), pp. 400–405.

[7] Paley, p. 403. He argued, of course, that God punished in exact proportion to guilt, which left human law to deal with external circumstances. He thus approved the English penal code, which held the threat of death for nearly any crime but was executed without justice or consistency, because its very uncertainty restrained potential criminals. If an innocent man occasionally suffered, he would at least know that he had died gloriously for his country's security (p. 421).

[8] Beccaria, *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments* (London, 1767), pp. 9–11.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

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ing impressions" of pain with improper acts, it would seem that Beccaria might join Paley in advocating harsh and terrifying penalties. Despite his emphasis on reason, however, Beccaria's primary appeal was to feeling and sentiment. After formulating an abstract social theory which was typical of the Enlightenment, he went on to anticipate the romantic protest against all unnecessary pain and suffering. The foundation of a sovereign's right to punish, he said, lay in "the indelible sentiments of the heart of man," and whatever deviated from this innate moral sense was unnatural and tyrannical.[10]

We find, then, that the first important treatise on criminology combined the sensational psychology with an emotional belief in an inherent and inalienable moral sense. In addition to his rational argument that capital punishment gave only a momentary example which could never improve mankind, whereas a criminal in prison made a "lasting impression" on his fellow countrymen, Beccaria concluded that since society lacked any right to kill a human being, such punishment was "a war of a whole nation against a citizen," which stimulated barbarity by teaching murder and violence to the people.[11]

When we turn to America we find that the new states, faced by the necessity of formulating their own laws, were reluctant to abandon so traditional a practice as capital punishment. Yet there was considerable interest in constructing a rational and humane system of penal law. Benjamin Rush, whose studies in pathology had convinced him that crime resulted from a disease of the moral sense, gave an address in 1787 advocating the total abolition of the death penalty. Borrowing from Beccaria's *Essay,* Rush answered critics in 1792 with his *Considerations on the Injustice and Impolity of Punishing Murder by Death.* Joined by William Bradford,[12] the attorney general of Pennsylvania, Rush was instrumental in achieving a compromise between total abolition and regulation of executions.

The Pennsylvania legislature adopted a law on April 22, 1794, which divided murder into two degrees, providing a unique system for diminishing the number of cases to which the death penalty might be applied and setting an example to be followed by other states during the next half century.[13]

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 8.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 102.

[12] Bradford felt that Pennsylvania's act of 1786 reducing the number of capital crimes proved that hanging was unnecessary as a deterrent; yet he also believed that the punishment for murder should be radically different from that for all other crimes. He favored varied penalties, graded precisely according to guilt (Bradford, *An Enquiry How Far the Punishment of Death Is Necessary in Pennsylvania . . .* [Philadelphia, 1793], pp. 20–36).

[13] *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801,* comp. James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders (Harrisburg, 1911), XV, 174–81. In 1682 Penn's famous law had abolished

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When malice or intent, giving evidence of "a depraved mind, regardless of human life," could not be inferred from the circumstances of a common law murder, it was generally defined as murder in the second degree.[14] Adoption of the degree system was associated with a reduction in number of other capital crimes, and both reforms made considerable progress during the early nineteenth century.[15]

When states went still further and defined four degrees of manslaughter, which, along with excusable and justifiable homicide, allowed eight different interpretations of killing, juries were, in effect, given the power to commute the penalty for almost any specific act of homicide.[16] Although American legislators had preserved the common law distinction between murder and manslaughter, they also, by a redefinition of relative guilt, had limited the use of capital punishment to those murderers who supposedly evidenced a total moral alienation. If a man's intellect had been only temporarily ignored or subverted, or if he had acted from great provocation, there was hope that he might be saved. But when a murderer's entire personality had consented to the crime, it was evident to American jurists that his moral sense had been completely depraved, making him too dangerous to live.

These changes in American criminal law had several important implica-

capital punishment for all crimes except murder, but in 1718 Pennsylvania had been forced to accept the English code. After 1794, as new states were formed, they tended to adopt the division of degrees of murder modeled on the example of Pennsylvania's law. Ohio had the degree system in 1824; New York did not define degrees of murder and manslaughter until 1827; Missouri adopted the system in 1835, Michigan in 1846, and Texas in 1848.

[14] Francis Wharton, *A Treatise on the Law of Homicide in the United States: to Which is Appended a Series of Leading Cases* (2d ed.; Philadelphia, 1875), pp. 135, 153–62; *The Revised Statutes of the State of New York* . . . (Albany, 1829), II, 656–57.

[15] In 1815 Ohio reduced the number of capital crimes from four to two and in 1824 limited the death penalty to willful murder (Albert Post, "The Anti-gallows Movement in Ohio," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quar.*, LIV [Apr.–June, 1945], 105). Capital punishment was restricted to murder in Kentucky in 1800 and in New Hampshire in 1842. In 1841 New York lowered the number to three, treason, murder, and arson in the first degree. On the other hand, North Carolina's revised statutes of 1837 listed twenty-two capital crimes. In Virginia there were at least seventy-one crimes for which slaves could be executed, but from which whites were exempt (Charles Spear, *Essays on the Punishment of Death* [8th ed.; Boston, 1844], pp. 221–27, app.).

[16] Degrees of manslaughter were usually defined in the following ways: first degree—when the victim was engaged in a misdemeanor at the time of his death, when assistance was given to a suicide, when death resulted from abortion (this was second degree murder in some states, but second degree manslaughter in Missouri); second degree—when the defendant killed in a cruel and unusual manner, but had no design to effect death; third degree—when the defendant used a dangerous weapon but did not intend to kill, or when a drunken doctor killed a patient through negligence (Missouri), or when a steamboat captain's negligence caused a fatal accident; fourth degree—everything not included in the other categories, when neither excusable nor justifiable. See *Revised Statutes* (New York), II, 660–61; *The Revised Statutes of the State of Missouri* . . . (St. Louis, 1835), pp. 168–70. It is fairly obvious that if malicious intent could not be inferred from killing in a cruel or unusual manner, or from the use of a deadly weapon, it would be very difficult to prove in any case of homicide involving a sudden "heat of passion."

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tions for the antigallows movement. For one thing, states like Kentucky and Pennsylvania had abolished capital punishment for every crime except murder at a time when Sir Samuel Romilly was desperately trying to persuade Lord Ellenborough that the British character would not be hopelessly corrupted if Parliament repealed the death penalty for thefts from bleaching grounds or for stealing five shillings from a shop.[17] This meant that the advocates of reform in America were free to strike at the vestiges of "barbarism" without first clearing away the thick deposits of legal cruelty and violence. On the other hand, the fact that many American states had reduced the number of capital crimes and had further softened their penal codes by defining degrees of murder and manslaughter, produced a mood of self-satisfaction, which is always a bulwark against reform. Jurists might applaud the efforts of Bentham and Romilly in England, but the Whig reformers were seen struggling toward a goal already achieved in the United States.

Outside of Pennsylvania, where in 1809 and 1811 the governor urged the legislature to abolish the death penalty,[18] the early protest against hanging was confined to Quaker periodicals or to occasional pamphlets combining New Testament charity with a Jeffersonian view of ethics and society.[19] In one of these booklets, published in 1821 after a prominent doctor's young son had been executed for murder, we find the theory that crime is prevented not by law, but only by "a healthful state of public morals." Severe punishments corrupted this state of public morals, as could be seen by the increase in crime under the sanguinary laws of England; yet perpetual and solitary confinement in prison would, as Beccaria and Rush had maintained, be a "lasting monument of the ignominious effects of crime." The most significant arguments, however, did not concern theories of deterrence or natural rights. If the pamphlet echoed the rationalism of the Enlightment, it also gave expression to the evangelical faith in universal brotherhood which was gradually undermining the cultural and psychological dominance of the Old Testament. Americans had traditionally justified capital punishment by citing God's injunction to Noah: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall

[17] *The Debates in the House of Commons, During the Year 1811, Upon Certain Bills for Abolishing the Punishment of Death,* comp. Basil Montagu (London, 1812), *passim.* Romilly cited William Bradford and pointed to the favorable results of Pennsylvania's legislation (p. 105).

[18] Albert Post, "Early Efforts to Abolish Capital Punishment in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* LXVIII (1944), 42–43.

[19] Elisha Bates, a Quaker, was the first to fight capital punishment in Ohio. Many of the early petitions to the New York legislature were from Quaker groups, but since the yearly meetings were generally silent on the issue, it is difficult to measure the Quaker influence on the reform. The Progressive Friends, who broke away from the Hicksites in 1848, strongly supported abolition of the death penalty, along with other reforms (*ibid.,* p. 50).

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his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man." The author of the 1821 pamphlet argued that this was a prophecy, addressed to Noah before the formation of government or society, simply reminding man of the natural tendency for one act of violence to produce another. To justify the death penalty by appealing to the Old Testament was to violate the spirit and teachings of Christ. Moreover, the preservation of a "bloody fragment of Jewish institutions" identified religion with injustice and thus strengthened the hand of deists and atheists. Executions outraged the moral sentiments of Christians, for whatever the guilt of the victim, "his sufferings alone are enough to call for the compassion of the sensible heart."[20]

Such emphasis on the personal suffering of a condemned criminal, as opposed to more theoretical discussions of deterrence and responsibility, signified the growing importance of romanticism for the antigallows movement. Because the death penalty was associated with both Old Testament brutality and the cold utilitarianism of conservative rationalists, it was attacked by those who yearned for an emotional and pietistic brotherhood, for an all-inclusive love which would embrace the wayward murderer as well as the suffering slave and degraded drunkard. Although leaders of the antigallows movement relied heavily on the rational arguments of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Beccaria, they also profited from the rise of evangelical religion and from the romantic sympathy for criminals and outcasts expressed in the fiction and poetry of Bulwer-Lytton, Dickens, Victor Hugo, William Gilmore Simms, Sylvester Judd, and John Greenleaf Whittier.

This romantic literature conveyed two ideas which are important for the history of the capital punishment controversy. First, the sensitive reader was frequently aroused by a vivid and emotional identification with a condemned criminal and his family. In *The Last Days of a Condemned* (1829) Hugo pictured the "intellectual dissection" and drawn-out agony of a criminal about to be executed, dwelling particularly upon the prisoner's memories of happiness and his horror at the thought of his grief-stricken family: "If the Jury had seen thee, my pretty little Mary, they would have understood it was wrong to kill the Father of a child three years old."[21] Although *The Last Days* was not translated until 1840, Hugo's thesis was popularized by English reviewers and lent emotional force to the antigallows movements in both England and America.[22]

[20] [Anon.], *Remarks on Capital Punishment* (Utica, 1821). The argument was not original with the author of this pamphlet.

[21] (London, 1840), p. 99.

[22] Long before it was translated, Hugo's book was well known and discussed in England. American readers of *Blackwood's Magazine* and other English journals would have become acquainted with Hugo's theme. Sir P. Hasketh Fleetwood, who edited one of the English edi-

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Whittier repeated Hugo's theme in "The Gallows" (1842) and "The Human Sacrifice" (1843), wherein he contrasted the joy and vital spontaneity of life ("Again with merry heart he threw / His light line in the rippling brook. / Back crowded all his schoolday joys; / He urged the ball and quoit again, / And heard the shout of laughing boys.") with the prisoner's agony before the "black, giant-like" gallows. When readers became convinced that even the condemned murderer was a human being with cherished memories, a loving family, and tender feelings, they might reflect bitterly at Whittier's lines: "Not by the Koran and the Sword, / But by the Bible and the Cord!"[23]

The second romantic idea, expressed in many tales and novels, was that true repentance atoned for even the worst of crimes and that such repentance came not from fear, but from harmony with nature. By depriving the criminal of contemplation and gradual regeneration, capital punishment interfered with the natural balance of guilt and remorse. At the conclusion of Simms's *Confession* (1841) a murderer is spared from arrest and prosecution because, we are told, life is a sacred trust and only by living may a criminal make atonement to a higher law: "It was with this merciful purpose that God not only permitted Cain to live, but commanded that none should slay him."[24] In one of his short tales Walt Whitman also asked whether an unpunished murderer might not receive more justice at the hands of God than from human tribunals: "Involuntarily, he bent over a branch of red roses, and took them softly between his hands—those murderous, bloody hands! But the red roses neither wither'd nor smell'd less fragrant. And as the young man kiss'd them . . . it seem'd to him that he had found pity and sympathy from Heaven itself."[25] Romantic writers sometimes pictured the murderer not as an evil villain, but as a man of unusual sensitivity whose remorse was proportionate to the enormity of his crime. Capable of both sudden anger and profound compassion, he occasionally seemed to have been prepared by his offense for a nobler life than that of average men. To convict him of an

tions, used Hugo's arguments to arouse support for the antigallows movement (Kenneth Ward Hooker, *The Fortunes of Victor Hugo in England* [New York, 1938], pp. 22, 25). In 1855 *The North American Review* spoke of the work as a great success and recommended it as one of the most powerful indictments of capital punishment ever written ("Genius and Writings of Victor Hugo," *NAR*, LXXXI [Oct., 1855], 334). However, Hugo's works were not generally popular in America before the Civil War. Bulwer-Lytton, Eugène Sue, Dickens, and G. W. M. Reynolds were more important in shaping the image of the criminal in popular literature.

[23] *The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Cambridge ed.; Boston, 1894), pp. 355–56.

[24] *Confession; or, the Blind Heart* (Chicago, 1890), pp. 397–98.

[25] *The Complete Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (New York, 1948), II, 361.

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infinite and irremediable guilt was to usurp the functions of God and nature and to ignore the divine potentialities within every human being.

Perhaps worst of all for the romantic writer was the unnatural regulation of human death. It was a usurpation of divine prerogative to assign a given day, a given moment in time, for the death of a human being; even a soldier in war or a victim of incurable disease was spared from anticipating the exact moment of his dying. Hugo, Dickens, and Whittier emphasized the horror of approaching a scheduled execution.

Such a mixture of romantic sentiment and evangelical doctrine formed an important part of the argument against capital punishment and doubtless helped to win the support of such figures as Longfellow, Theodore Parker, Horace Greeley, and Henry Ward Beecher. But the major source of inspiration to the antigallows movement was neither a romantic poem nor an evangelical sermon, but rather a pragmatic system of penal law.

Edward Livingston, who corresponded with Bentham and with Continental legal theorists, and was said by Sir Henry Maine to have been the first legal genius of modern times,[26] formulated in the 1820's a systematic set of arguments against capital punishment that were later expanded and adapted by Thomas Upham, Robert Rantoul, Jr., and John L. O'Sullivan, in their various efforts to reform the penal codes of American states. In drawing up his famous criminal code for Louisiana,[27] Livingston agreed with Rush that prison, by depriving a criminal of pleasure, would mortify the original passions and lead to repentance. Yet England's example proved that the threat of death was no deterrent even to minor theft. This was to assume that ideas, such as the abstract idea of death, had little influence on human behavior.

If Livingston's naturalistic view of the mind implied that the idea of death was no restraint to criminals, his belief in an inherent moral sense led him to fear the social consequences of public executions. Like Rush and Beccaria, he felt that man's natural sensitivity might easily be blunted or perverted by the environment. Public hangings were barbarous spectacles which might well deprave the public taste, stimulate violence, and corrupt juries.[28] To prove his argument, Livingston cited examples of murders and other crimes committed immediately after executions.

In an appeal which assumed a Jeffersonian philosophy of human nature and society, Livingston also warned that all nations were subject to political

[26] John F. Dillon, *The Laws and Jurisprudence of England and America* (Boston, 1894), pp. 337–38.
[27] *A System of Penal Law, for the State of Louisiana . . .* (Philadelphia, 1833).
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

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disorder, party warfare, and dictatorship. When civil discord exploded into violence, as Paine had previously remarked, "new punishments are not invented, but those already known are rigorously enforced against the innocent."[29] The dangerous process of condemning and executing men as aliens from God and society might not, in other words, be limited to a few isolated criminals: "Beware then, how you sharpen the axe, and prepare the other instruments of death, for the hand of party violence."[30]

Livingston stressed the uncertainty of a punishment the severity of which caused juries to hesitate and governors to exercise their power of mercy, but the codifier's most dramatic plea was patriotic. The eyes of the world, he said, were focused upon the United States. Experiments in Russia and Tuscany had been successful, but despite the rapid spread of world sentiment against hanging, reaction had prevented reform from sweeping Europe. Should Louisiana be the first state to make the enlightened experiment, she would reflect glory upon the whole nation, giving the United States a reputation for moral progress and benevolence among civilized peoples for centuries to come.[31]

Livingston's appeal was ignored by the Louisiana legislature, but his lucid arguments were reprinted and distributed in the Northeast, where they proved an impetus to legislative action. The New York Assembly appointed a committee in 1832 to inquire into the expediency of abolishing capital punishment; its report echoed Livingston's legal philosophy as well as his specific arguments.[32] In response to this report, bills opposing the death penalty were introduced in the Assembly in 1832 and 1834, and though they failed to progress to a final reading, they provoked agitation and debate.[33] Livingston's influence was also felt in Pennsylvania, where the issue excited more interest than before, and in Maine, where a compromise measure was finally enacted.

On December 30, 1835, Livingston wrote a letter to Tobias Purrington, a member of the Maine legislature, deploring the fact that Louisiana had failed to act and urging Maine to set an example for the other states.[34] Copies

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 124.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 125.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[32] *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York, 1832* (Albany, 1832), p. 44; *State of New York, Assembly Doc. No. 187* (Mar. 7, 1832), pp. 22–23. Since this report appeared before the major counterattack by defenders of capital punishment, little space was devoted to theological debate. In the Massachusetts General Court agitation began in 1828 and the first bills were introduced in 1832 (*The Prisoners' Friend, A Monthly Magazine*, VI [Boston, Sept., 1853], 197–98).
[33] *Journal of the Assembly, 1832*, p. 354; *Journal of the Assembly, 1834*, p. 410.
[34] Purrington, *Report on Capital Punishment, Made to the Maine Legislature in 1836 . . .* (3d ed.; Washington, 1852), pp. 30–31.

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of Livingston's code were distributed to the governor and to each state senator, and Purrington wrote a report to the legislature incorporating the arguments of Livingston, together with phrenological evidence proving that faulty cerebral organization, not conscious choice, was the cause of criminality.[35] The movement in Maine was led by several able men, including Thomas C. Upham, professor of mental and moral philosophy at Bowdoin, who was also a supporter of temperance, universal peace, and colonization of American Negroes. In 1837 Upham and Purrington succeeded in obtaining a law which virtually abolished the death penalty. Under the so-called "Maine law" (not to be confused with the later prohibition law), every criminal sentenced to death was to be confined in the state prison for one year after the date of sentence and could be executed only upon a written warrant issued at the discretion of the governor.[36]

The Maine law was something more than a compromise between opponents and defenders of the death penalty. Despite their occasional statements that crime was a disease and that criminals did not deserve punishment, critics of capital punishment were not primarily concerned with the welfare of felons. Just as abolitionists had seldom associated with slaves, so those opposing the death penalty had seldom mixed with rapists and murderers. Their proposals for reforming criminals were singularly naïve, being based on the assumption that isolation and restraint of passions would revive the debilitated moral sense. While reformers were shocked by the thought of executions, they did not question the cruelty of solitary confinement for life. As we have seen, arguments against capital punishment centered on the corrupting example of public hangings and on the social guilt of depriving an individual of his inalienable right to live. It was this profound sense of guilt, resulting from "legal murders," which drove reformers to action. If the guilt could be transferred to the shoulders of a state governor, however, then society might rest with an easy conscience. It was generally assumed that the governor would never use his power to kill a condemned man, but if he did, the burden would rest on him alone.

A similar compromise, adopted first by Pennsylvania in 1834 and by New York the following year, was the abolition of public executions. By eliminating the fearful spectacle of a tense and ribald crowd, hooting and cheering a criminal at the gallows, these states removed one of the more

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 8–10.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 41–42. Governor Dana said in 1849 that he interpreted the law as inferring that the legislature did not desire enforcement. However, as similar statutes were adopted by other states, they did not always result in fewer executions. Maine totally abolished capital punishment in 1876, reinstated it in 1883, and abolished it again in 1887.

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powerful arguments advanced by Rush and Livingston.[37] The guilt felt by sensitive men at a public execution and the horror aroused by a bloodthirsty mob were considerably lessened when hangings occurred in the remote sanctity of a county jail.

Yet many reformers were not content with compromises which merely obscured communal guilt. We have seen that when Beccaria attacked the social compact theory, he went so far as to deny society's right to take human life. In the 1830's Beccaria's secular argument was reinvigorated by an upsurge of religious sentiment against violence of all kinds. By 1838 a minority of extreme radicals in the American peace movement had concluded that total nonresistance was the only Christian answer to evil.[38] For such advocates of nonresistance as William Lloyd Garrison and the Reverend Henry Clarke Wright, war could be abolished only by first eliminating the "man-killing principle" from human society and by substituting in its place the Christian principle of sympathetic love.[39] So long as men used self-defense as a justification for aggression, revenge and retaliation would continue to destroy social harmony. Wright, Garrison, and other radical pacifists, who opposed not only war and capital punishment but also legal suits for the redress of injuries, formed in 1838 the New England Non-Resistance Society, most of whose objectives were supported by Samuel May, Gerrit Smith, and Theodore Parker.[40] Although the society was repudiated by many members of the American Peace Society and was violently attacked by the orthodox clergy, it gave added significance to the antigallows movement. Regardless of one's views on the causes of criminality or the expediency of punishments, it was troubling to think that the death penalty might violate fundamental principles of Christianity. If few Americans were willing to accept the extreme position that society should renounce all resistance to evil, the sermons, speeches, and editorials of radical pacifists aroused thought and debate and thus helped to spread the belief that capital punishment could not be justified by the state's alleged right of self-defense.

In his annual address of 1836, Governor Edward Everett of Massachusetts noted that "an increasing tenderness for human life is one of the most decided characteristics of the civilization of the day . . ." and suggested that as an experiment the punishment of death be dispensed with for all crimes

[37] In 1832 Massachusetts recommended private hangings and by 1849 fifteen states had adopted the reform (*The Prisoners' Friend,* I [Mar., 1849], 317). However, some states held public executions as late as the 1930's.

[38] Merle E. Curti, "Non-Resistance in New England," *New England Quar.,* II (Jan., 1929), 40–45.

[39] *Ibid.,* pp. 40–57; Curti, *The American Peace Crusade, 1815–1860* (Durham, N. C., 1929), pp. 71–72, 81–83.

[40] "Non-Resistance in New England," p. 53; *American Peace Crusade,* p. 84.

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except murder.[41] The legislature appointed a select committee, headed by Robert Rantoul, Jr., whose subsequent report became something of a classic for the leaders of the movement in the next decade. Whereas Governor Everett had touched only on the possible inexpediency of capital punishment, Rantoul was directly concerned with the inalienable rights of citizens and the limitations of governmental power. He agreed with Non-Resistants that the state had no sanction to take the life of a criminal, but he based his argument on the political theory of Paine and Jefferson. From them he drew his belief that legitimate government was limited in its powers to protection of property and opportunity and to provision for the common defense. Prisons, said Rantoul, were adequate to protect society, but governments, always tending to exceed their proper limits, attempted to judge the hearts and consciences of men as if degrees of moral guilt could be infallibly determined. Since no power was more flattering to ambition than that of disposing at will of human life, capital punishment represented a dangerous intrusion into the sphere of individual rights. The political and ecclesiastical butchery of past ages, which had been allowed under pretense of legal forms, showed that such an unnecessary power might easily be used to subvert republican society.[42]

In contrast to pacifists like Wright or to romantic poets like Whittier, Rantoul represented the spirit of the Enlightenment. He attacked capital punishment for the secular reason that it violated natural law as interpreted by reason. Yet even Rantoul was aware that in America rational theory had to be supplemented with appeals to Scripture. After observing that Old Testament laws were addressed to a people whose hearts were not softened even by stupendous miracles, a people "but a few removes from the condition of savages, and almost universally addicted to the most heinous acts of wickedness," Rantoul went on to argue that God's covenant with Noah concerned the relation between men and animals and should therefore be read: "Whatsoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall its blood be shed." By interpreting Scripture within a broader contextual meaning, Rantoul arrived at the conclusion that God's communication with Noah was intended to "inculcate the sanctity of human life."[43]

Rantoul's report of 1836 was valuable because it attempted to answer

[41] *Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* . . . (Boston, 1836), pp. 280–81.

[42] *Commonwealth of Massachusetts, House Doc. No. 32* (Feb. 22, 1836), pp. 10–14, 24.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80. Adapting his arguments from the German scholar, Michaelis, Rantoul said that the Hebrew participle translated "whoso sheddeth" was closer to the English "shedding" and might be logically rendered "whatsoever sheddeth." Orthodox ministers and scholars treated this argument with icy contempt. See George Barrell Cheever, *A Defence of Capital Punishment* (New York, 1846), pp. 127–36.

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every possible objection to the abolitionist position. It is significant that while the main argument was couched in terms of Jeffersonian political theory and drew liberally from Beccaria and Livingston, Rantoul felt compelled to resort to ingenious interpretations of Scripture. This indicated the source and strength of his major opposition. Despite the power of his several reports, agitation in the Massachusetts House was unsuccessful, and in 1836 and 1837 Senate committees vindicated the death penalty. The one tangible result of years of debate was the final abolition in 1839 of capital punishment for burglary and highway robbery.[44]

Meanwhile, similar reform efforts had failed in Michigan. After Ohio's Governor Joseph Vance had urged repeal in 1837 and 1838, legislative committees in that state defended the death penalty and refused to act.[45]

In New York the enthusiasm originally inspired by Livingston's code had waned, and the issue aroused little interest in the years immediately following the depression of 1837.[46] In reply to petitions claiming that the state had no right to kill, the New York Assembly judiciary committee made a report in 1839 defending existing laws as necessary for social order. Ironically, the authors of this report accepted the assumption of Beccaria, Rush, and Livingston that "lasting impressions," not abstract ideas, were the only force which restrained criminals. But they argued that the destitute criminal would look upon prison as a blessing, since there he would enjoy food, clothing, and physical security, while the fear of death, which was as universal as the desire for life, would strike terror in even the most depraved and hardened soul: ". . . the great body of people are affected only by what is palpable. . . . It is only what is plain and evident that is tangible to their gross conceptions."[47]

It was not enough, however, to defend capital punishment in terms of utilitarianism and Lockian psychology. The committee was obviously perplexed by the fact that its opponents had used religious and philosophical arguments to challenge the state's right to take human life. Although they observed that harsher punishments were necessary in a free society than in an authoritarian country where perpetual police control and regulation reduced crime by infringing on the rights of every citizen[48]—a utilitarian argu-

[44] *Commonwealth of Massachusetts, House Doc. No. 149* (Apr. 24, 1851), p. 4.

[45] Post, "The Anti-gallows Movement in Ohio," pp. 106–107.

[46] No petitions or proposed bills were reported in 1837. In 1838 the only debates were over a committee resolution favoring capital punishment, and in 1839 petitions against the death penalty were tabled after the Assembly judiciary committee reported against the reform. See Assembly journals for 1837, 1838, 1839.

[47] *State of New York, Assembly Doc. No. 378* (Apr. 16, 1839), p. 7.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12. The committee reported that in Tuscany, where capital punishment had been temporarily abolished, the "common people were prohibited from wearing arms,

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ment that had been used against Sir Samuel Romilly's reforms[49]—they fell back for ultimate justification upon the Noachic covenant and the instinctual "sentiment" of blood for blood.

It is important to note, however, that the committee report of 1839 was tentative, uncertain, and poorly organized. The case for capital punishment had not yet been stated clearly, and the members of the New York judiciary committee were groping for arguments. So weak a document was little protection against the mounting number of petitions which began to flood the legislature in 1840.[50]

Partly in response to these petitions, Governor Seward's message of January 5, 1841, suggested that capital punishment was being inflicted so frequently as to become "an encouragement, rather than a preventive of crime."[51] This portion of Seward's message was referred to an Assembly committee headed by John L. O'Sullivan, dynamic editor of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review,* a fiery reformer, literary critic, and ultimate supporter of the Confederacy, who, according to his friend, Nathaniel Hawthorne, had a genius for embracing lost causes. The cause of abolishing capital punishment was not yet lost, however, for O'Sullivan collected facts and statistics, borrowed heavily from Rantoul and Livingston, and produced what was perhaps the most distinguished document of the entire controversy. He infuriated his opponents by flatly denying the authority of the Old Testament as a guide for contemporary legislation. Ignoring subtle distinctions between the Noachic covenant and Mosaic code, he reasoned that if the Old Testament was to be taken as a model for legislation, the death penalty might be applied to unconfessed impurity before marriage, witchcraft, blasphemy, or the gathering of sticks on the Sabbath.[52] In addition to the usual arguments, he also drew on the recent writings of the English alienist, James C. Prichard, whose theory of moral insanity, or psychopathic personality, suggested that many criminals suffered from a diseased or atrophied sensibility.[53] Since the subject of insanity was charged with uncertainty, O'Sullivan warned that legal tests might be faulty, that the

or even carrying a knife." But in a democracy it was necessary to place trust in punishments and not restrictions.

[49] *Debates in the House of Commons, 1811,* p. 35. In a similar vein, Frankland argued that England might have milder punishments if the people were "so swathed, and swaddled, as not to be able to commit crimes."

[50] *State of New York, Assembly Doc. No. 363* (May 14, 1840), pp. 1–2.

[51] *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York, 1841,* p. 16.

[52] O'Sullivan, *Report in Favor of the Abolition of the Punishment of Death by Law . . .* (2d ed.; New York, 1841), p. 11.

[53] *Ibid.,* pp. 111–13. Prichard's *Treatise on Insanity* had been published in Philadelphia in 1837. His concept of a diseased moral sense was a more systematic development of earlier theories of Rush, Phillipe Pinel, and Jean Esquirol.

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state might be executing irresponsible men. Had his opponents limited their case to expediency, O'Sullivan's argument would have been superfluous, but since the defenders of capital punishment presumed that guilt could be determined, the question of moral insanity became increasingly important.

When O'Sullivan's bill for total abolition of the death penalty was rejected by a close vote of 46 to 52,[54] defenders of tradition rose to meet the challenge. In 1842 the legislature was besieged by an array of petitions, memorials, and remonstrances both for and against abolition,[55] the most remarkable being a lengthy document from J. S. Van Rensselaer and other leading citizens of Albany. Van Rensselaer's memorial was a caustic refutation of O'Sullivan's report, but more than that, it was a clear and forceful defense of legal executions. Previously, such justifications had been strongly influenced by Lockian psychology and by Paley's doctrine of social expediency, but Van Rensselaer gave notice of his new approach by launching a bitter attack against the shallow and mechanistic philosophy of Bentham.[56]

Since the time of Beccaria, reformers had charged that executions violated man's inherent sense of justice. Now, however, their opponents appropriated the moral sense philosophy and transformed it into a weapon for the defense of tradition. According to Van Rensselaer, the moral sense for men like O'Sullivan was a sentimental emotion, which, if consistently applied to social problems, would logically result in the abolition of prisons.[57] Yet the true moral sense was not an effeminate emotion but an inherent, necessary, and absolute sense of duty. "That the criminal should be punished for his crime, is not a truth, summed up from the tardy teachings of experience; it is an immediate, and peremptory decision of the moral sense." Thus the Albany memorial abandoned both the compact theory and the

[54] *Journal of the Assembly, 1841,* pp. 1179–80, 1362. O'Sullivan later gave the vote as 47 to 52. The first vote had been in favor of the bill by 57 to 52, and O'Sullivan claimed that because the final vote had come at an evening session, attendance was light and some of his friends were absent (O'Sullivan, *Report,* pref.). On May 26 *The Albany Daily Argus* reported that O'Sullivan's actions in behalf of a general election law had incensed the Whigs and caused them to defeat his capital punishment bill: "Some of them, as we are informed, even expressly declared to the mover that they would *now* vote against his bill for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, though before in favor of it!" This was probably just anti-Whig propaganda, since the *Argus* had been actively pushing the election reforms and had portrayed the Whig opposition as allied with thugs, criminals, and crooks.

[55] *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York, 1842.* Petitions in favor of abolition far outnumbered those opposed, and also outnumbered petitions concerning slavery and temperance.

[56] *State of New York, Senate Doc. No. 97* (Apr. 9, 1842), p. 1.

[57] *Ibid.,* pp. 18–19. O'Sullivan and Rantoul were accused of gross inconsistency, since they sometimes argued that prison was more terrifying than death and thus made a more "lasting impression" on society, and at other times claimed that criminals should be cured and not punished. This dilemma, as we have seen, resulted from the abolitionists' principal concern with escaping communal guilt. Their opponents charged them with using capital punishment as a means for political advancement, without really caring about the welfare of criminals.

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sensational psychology of Locke, Paley, and Beccaria, justifying punishment by a moral sense whose rational and absolute content suggested the transcendental reason of Hegel. Society had no right to punish criminals as an example, for "The attempt to found justice upon utility is only another effort of a low material philosophy, seeking to solve a problem that lies as high above its reach as the heavens above the earth." Hence the English system of law, by ignoring "the intrinsic ill-desert of the offender," was based on an untenable philosophy of social expediency, which opened the way for reckless reformers:

> Nothing but guilt can break down the defences which stand around every moral being, and permit us to subject him to suffering for the advantage of others. It is from this prior consideration of justice that the penalties of law derive their utility. . . . Punishment is not just because it is useful; but it is useful because it is just.[58]

Henceforth, the debate over capital punishment would not be a dispute between Locke and Beccaria but would rest on a philosophic division between naturalistic and idealistic interpretations of the innate moral sense, the former emphasizing environmental causes of crime and the latter stressing intrinsic guilt and justice.

The Albany memorial was the most powerful attack on reform yet to appear. Condemning both the mawkish sentimentality of the romantics and the implied materialism of reformers who based their arguments on the theories of Locke, Montesquieu, and Beccaria, it furnished a new philosophy for defenders of tradition. The final insult was to identify O'Sullivan and Rantoul, who had frequently appealed to the enlightened example of Catherine of Russia, with the corruptions of godless Europe: "And if we are to be influenced by imitation, if 'patterns of noble clemency' are to be sought, we shall go somewhere else than to an Empress who was twice, at least, a murderer of the foulest degree, and always a loathsome adulteress."[59]

During the 1840's the issue of capital punishment kindled the passions of the orthodox clergy, who brought forth a mass of articles, pamphlets, and books echoing the philosophy of the Albany memorial. Although a few conservatives like William T. Dwight continued to struggle for the theory of deterrence, opposing the enemy's statistics with charts and percentages of their own,[60] the argument of "intrinsic justice" and "moral necessity" increasingly dominated the debate.

The doctrine of divine retaliation was most closely associated with the

[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[60] Dwight, *A Discourse on the Rightfulness and Expediency of Capital Punishments* (Portland, Me., 1843), pp. 25–27.

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Reverend George Barrell Cheever, later prominent in the antislavery movement, who in 1843 confronted O'Sullivan in public debate at the Broadway Tabernacle and in 1846 published *A Defence of Capital Punishment,* which established him as the acknowledged leader of the opposition. Drawing from Schlegel the concept of innate reason serving as divine regulator, Cheever spoke of the "intrinsic enormity" of murder and rejected the utilitarian defense of punishment.[61]

There was a direct line of development between Cheever's theology and the philosophy of Francis Wharton, whose monumental *Treatise on the Criminal Law of the United States* was published in 1846, at the height of the capital punishment controversy. When Wharton later defended the death penalty, he pointedly dismissed theories that punishment was intended primarily to prevent crime, to reform offenders, or to incite terror. The justification for punishment was simple and absolute: government was the vindicator of right, crime was a violation of eternal moral law, and "crime as crime must be punished."[62] In the philosophy of Kant and Hegel, Wharton found justification for a theory of punishment as categorical imperative, demanded by the laws of reason. Penalties, as Hegel had said, were agencies with which to annihilate wrong in its continual effort to annihilate right.[63] Hence man was to be given a power which heretofore had been at least theoretically reserved for God—the measurement and negation of total guilt.

In the erratic course of ideas, the moral sense theory, which had at first reinforced the efforts of reformers to reclaim their deluded and erring brethren, had now been expanded into an inherent and absolute knowledge of right and wrong, vindicating the infliction of punishment graded in exact proportion to guilt. With the repudiation of sensational psychology in favor of intuitive knowledge and complete moral freedom, men achieved the power to punish those who were alienated, not from the social compact, but from the universal rules of transcendental mind. Thus was idealistic philosophy gradually converted into the strongest intellectual bulwark against reform. Only the sanction of a higher and absolute law could repress the guilt which drove reformers into action.

In 1846, the year of Cheever's *Defence,* an English phrenologist named M. B. Sampson published *The Rationale of Crime,* in which frank materialism offset the scriptural and philosophical arguments of the opposition.

[61] Cheever, *Defence,* pp. 14–16.

[62] Wharton, *Philosophy of Criminal Law* (Philadelphia, 1880), pp. 2–12. Since Wharton's views were largely a comment on the debate of an earlier period, his summary of legal philosophy is relevant to this discussion.

[63] *Ibid.,* p. 14. Wharton also interpreted law as the united will of the people.

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Applying "modern science" to the theories of Rush and Prichard, Sampson gave a physiological basis to moral insanity and stated flatly that all crime was the result of disease.[64] Moreover, since murder evidenced a perversion of the criminal's organs of destruction, which included a propensity toward self-destruction as well as outward aggression, capital punishment only gratified his morbid passions. Phrenology solved the ancient problem of gauging responsibility by simply eliminating it. When crime was conceived as merely the outward manifestation of a diseased brain, punishment became a frightful barbarism. Indeed, executions stimulated the destructive organs of ordinarily normal people, arousing them to acts of cruelty and depravity and inducing waves of suicide and violent crime.[65] Sampson's book was soon quoted extensively in legislative documents, making phrenology an integral part of the debate.

The significance of Sampson's book was that it pushed the naturalism of Rush and Livingston to a logical extreme, directly opposed to the position of Cheever and Wharton. By the 1840's reformers like Theodore Parker could assert that since individuals possessed different capacities for responsible action, and since crime was essentially a disease, it was no more rational for society to kill offenders than it would be for doctors to execute as an example a "patient sick of a disease which he had foolishly or wickedly brought upon himself. . . ."[66] But if reformers stressed the physical and psychological differences between men, their opponents held that by sharing a divine faculty, all men were equally responsible. Ironically, those who emphasized human differences sought to redeem their depraved brethren, while those who believed in an equal and common divinity would have destroyed the total outcasts, the hopeless aliens.

Meanwhile, the antigallows movement stimulated controversy and aroused increasing resistance. After two governors of New Hampshire had urged that the death penalty be abolished, the legislature in 1844 agreed to a referendum, in which the citizens voted nearly two to one in support of capital punishment.[67] Five years later the Reverend Samuel Lee warned the legislature that to reject the Noachic covenant was to say that God was a

[64] Sampson, *The Rationale of Crime, and its Appropriate Treatment; Being a Treatise on Criminal Jurisprudence Considered in Relation to Cerebral Organization* (New York, 1846), pp. 11–17.

[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 80–83, 104–18.

[66] Parker, *A Sermon of the Dangerous Classes of Society* (Boston, 1847), p. 45.

[67] *Journal of the Senate of the State of New Hampshire, November Session, 1844* (Concord, 1845), p. 19. Governor Steele made a strong speech against the decision. In 1842 an abolition bill had been rejected in the House by the narrow margin of 104 to 109, and a law had been passed empowering the governor to commute sentences of death. Public opinion was excited by a murder case at the time of the referendum, and Governor Steele, disregarding the popular

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liar.[68] The Pennsylvania House, after being swamped with petitions in 1843 and 1844, finally voted to maintain the death penalty for murder.[69]

In 1844 a Boston Universalist minister named Charles Spear published *Essays on the Punishment of Death,* which was dedicated to Thomas Upham and gave thanks to Rantoul and O'Sullivan. In addition to publicizing the arguments of Rantoul and Livingston, Spear edited a monthly magazine, *The Prisoners' Friend,* which dramatized the plight of condemned criminals and printed articles by prominent reformers, along with highly sentimental poems and illustrations attacking brutal punishments. The only magazine of its kind in the country, *The Prisoners' Friend* helped to coordinate the movements in various states; it furnished statistics on crime and reports of legislative debates and organized public protest against executions of specific criminals.[70]

The movement reached its zenith in the mid-1840's. Charles Spear, together with Rantoul, Wendell Phillips, and Whittier succeeded in 1844 in founding a Massachusetts society for the abolition of capital punishment.[71] The same year a similar organization appeared in New York, led by Samuel May, Greeley, William Balch, and others. In October, 1845, a national society convened in Philadelphia and elected as president George M. Dallas, who was also Vice-President of the United States.[72] By 1850 state societies were reported in Tennessee, Ohio, Alabama, Louisiana, Indiana, Iowa, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts.[73] In addition to this organizational activity, Theodore Parker thundered against the barbarity of executions at Boston's Melodeon, Horace Greeley supported the reform in the *Tribune,* and pamphlets and public letters by Rantoul and Charles E. Burleigh were distributed to legislative committees. By 1846 even the staid *North American Review* printed a long article which sought to chart a middle course between the extremes of Parker and Cheever but concluded with a stirring plea for abolition based on the uncertainty and inexpediency of executions.[74]

verdict, commuted the prisoner's sentence. See my article, "Murder in New-Hampshire," *New England Quar.,* XXVIII (June, 1955), 147–63.

[68] Lee, *Capital Punishment* (n.p., n.d.), p. 9.

[69] Post, "Capital Punishment in Pennsylvania," p. 45.

[70] The magazine had begun in 1845 as a weekly paper, *The Hangman;* it was rechristened *The Prisoners' Friend* in 1846 and began as a monthly in 1848. Spear corresponded with British reformers and reprinted their articles; he listed Dickens, Elizabeth Pease, John Bright, Richard Cobden, and the Howitts as friends of the cause (*The Prisoners' Friend,* I [Mar., 1849], 317).

[71] *Ibid.,* II (Feb., 1850), 281.

[72] Post, "Capital Punishment in Pennsylvania," p. 49.

[73] *The Prisoners' Friend,* II (Feb., 1850), 282.

[74] "The Punishment of Death," *NAR,* LXII (1846), 42–44, 52. When the humane, rational tone of the article is compared with the radical Non-Resistants and romantic writers on the one hand, and with the almost hysterical defense of tradition on the other, it is clear how far the controversy had moved from the sober utilitarianism of the eighteenth century. The *Review* did

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Yet the movement lacked the concentration of effort which characterized antislavery and temperance reform. Parker, Greeley, and Upham were mainly preoccupied with other causes. By the mid-1840's O'Sullivan was absorbed by extravagant dreams of manifest destiny, and Rantoul was to find western speculation more enticing than the fate of murderers. Even Charles Spear divided his energies between capital punishment and prison reform.[75]

Throughout the Northeast, however, an increasing number of people accepted the belief that executions were illegal and involved society in an unbearable guilt. In 1847 petitions bearing nearly 12,000 signatures flooded the Pennsylvania legislature. The previous year a select committee in New York reported signatures running 7,580 to 113 in favor of abolition,[76] but the efforts of New York reformers were unsuccessful in the constitutional convention of 1846 and again in 1847, when an abolition bill nearly passed in the Assembly.[77]

The memorable year for reformers was 1846, when, according to James H. Titus, leader of the movement in the New York legislature, the sun had risen in the West and its light had finally penetrated the darkness of the East.[78] It was in Michigan that the first success was staged. There had been no execution in that state since 1830, but despite petitions and the efforts of a few reformers in the Michigan legislature, the majority of citizens seemed definitely opposed to abolition.[79] In 1843 a bill had passed in the House but had been defeated in the Senate. Throughout March and April, 1846, the issue continued to provoke violent debate. This time the House resisted a Senate bill substituting solitary confinement for the penalty of death. After an amendment had been added providing for hard labor in solitary confinement, the legislature voted in May to abolish capital punishment for first degree murder.[80] On March 1, 1847, when the law went into effect, Michigan became the first English-speaking state to adopt the reform.

not sympathize with reformers who denied the right of society to defend itself, but it was incensed by the doctrine of Old Testament retaliation.

[75] Spear's first paper had been devoted solely to the abolition of capital punishment, but *The Prisoners' Friend* became increasingly concerned with prison reform, temperance, and romantic literature. Spear claimed a circulation of 3,000 for *The Hangman*, but by 1854 *The Prisoners' Friend*, despite its wider range of interests, had only 1,500 subscribers (*The Prisoners' Friend*, VI [Jan., 1854], 216).

[76] *State of New York Assembly Doc. No. 213* (May 4, 1846), p. 2. Documents on both sides spoke of the increasing interest and active discussion of the subject in all parts of the state.

[77] *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York, 1847*, pp. 1618–19, 1687.

[78] *State of New York Assembly Doc. No. 191* (Apr. 12, 1848), p. 53.

[79] Post, "Michigan Abolishes Capital Punishment," *Michigan History Magazine*, XXIX (1945), 49.

[80] *Journal of the Senate of the State of Michigan, 1846* (Detroit, 1846), pp. 241–357; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, 1846* (Detroit, 1846), pp. 498–515, 548, 575, 599, 613.

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In 1852 Rhode Island followed the example of Michigan,[81] and when Wisconsin adopted a similar law the next year, many believed that the gallows was doomed in the North.[82] Tobias Purrington proclaimed with confidence: ". . . it will not be long before capital punishment will be banished from every State of this great and glorious Union—the consummation of which is an event devoutly to be wished by every true christian, statesman, and philosopher."[83]

During 1849 and 1850 reformers were inspired by Michigan's success and by Sampson's phrenological writings. Public debates, such as one held at the Boston Latin School in 1849,[84] helped to arouse popular interest, and more people were becoming involved in the controversy. The orthodox clergy, however, were more and more successful in their effort to identify abolition with materialists, Unitarians, and Harvard intellectuals: "On a more noxious set of human beings the sun never shines; a company more accursed of the Lord, does not probably pollute the air. . . . Atheism is entitled to profound respect, in comparison with their insolent exhibitions of falsehood, in the name of religion."[85] When in 1850 liberals and intellectuals protested the execution of Harvard's Professor John W. Webster, the identification was complete. Despite the growing number of famous and respectable men supporting the cause, the opposition could rely on a traditional current of anti-intellectualism and religious orthodoxy: "Thou College of the Puritans, begun in prayer, reared for the glory of Father, Son and Holy Ghost; dedicated to Christ and the Church; thou has greater cause of grief than that one of thy Professors has gone from the gallows to eternity; the blessed Redeemer is daily crucified in thee!"[86]

In Ohio the turning point came in 1850, when reformers were defeated at the constitutional convention. The agitation of Clement Vallandingham had produced close votes in the 1840's, but petitions and interest subsided after 1850.[87] A bill modeled on the Maine law missed enactment by one vote in the

[81] Five years later Rhode Island's secretary of state reported that an increase in murder had aroused public opinion against the new law, and an effort to restore capital punishment had been defeated by a narrow vote (*State of New York Assembly Doc. No. 170* [Mar. 16, 1857], pp. 24–25).

[82] William Tallack, *The Practical Results of the Total or Partial Abolition of Capital Punishment in Various Countries* (London, 1866), p. 20. Reformers thought that Maine and Louisiana had practically abolished the penalty, the latter by empowering juries to render verdicts of guilty "without capital punishment" (*The Prisoners' Friend*, IV [Apr., 1852], 160–62).

[83] *Report*, p. 47.

[84] *An Exercise in Declamation; in the Form of a Debate on Capital Punishment* . . . (Boston, 1849).

[85] Timothy Alden Taylor, *The Bible View of the Death Penalty: Also, a Summary of the Webster Case* (Worcester, 1850), p. 23.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[87] Post, "The Anti-gallows Movement in Ohio," pp. 109–11.

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New York Senate in 1851, but in the following years there was a gradual ebbing of the reform tide.[88] In 1852 Massachusetts adopted a similar law delaying executions for one year and requiring the issuance of an executive warrant for each hanging. However, reformers were disheartened in 1854 when Governor John H. Clifford, backed by the Supreme Judicial Court, ruled that the statute did not modify an earlier law requiring the death of murderers. After ordering an execution the Governor justified himself at state expense in *The Prisoners' Friend,* claiming that he had been obliged by law to issue the order.[89] When accused of violating the spirit of the new law, he argued that the Commonwealth should follow the example of Rhode Island if the majority of citizens actually desired the abolition of capital punishment. In 1857, however, the General Court repealed the law altogether.[90] Thus, despite success in Rhode Island and Wisconsin, and despite the triumph of Tobias Purrington when he induced President Fillmore to commute the penalty of a condemned Marine,[91] there was a lessening of interest in capital punishment from 1852 to 1860.

However, a final burst of agitation stirred the New York legislature in 1860. Committee reports favorable to abolition had been made in 1857 and 1859, and the flow of petitions increased in 1860. After receiving encouraging letters from officials in Wisconsin and Michigan, the legislature passed a law on April 14 delaying executions for one year from date of sentence, when they could be carried out only upon receipt of an executive warrant.[92] The law also repealed previous sections of the criminal code which prescribed the mode of execution, thereby effectively abolishing the death penalty. But the 1860 law, which was greatly misunderstood and at best had struck an ambiguous compromise, was repealed the following year. For the duration of the Civil War there was no mention of capital punishment in the legislative journals.[93]

It was difficult for romantic poets to evoke sympathy for a few murderers when the attention of sympathetic people was focused increasingly on a differ-

[88] *Journal of the Senate, 1851,* pp. 688, 936.

[89] VI (Feb., 1854), 273–78.

[90] *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, in the Year 1857* (Boston, 1857), pp. 427–28.

[91] Purrington, *Report,* p. 38.

[92] *Journal of the Senate of the State of New York, 1860,* p. 876; *Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York, 1860,* pp. 1310, 1337.

[93] *State of New York Senate Doc. No. 40* (Feb. 7, 1862), p. 2; *Journal of the Senate of the State of New York, 1862,* p. 12. In 1861 an act revived all provisions of the earlier statutes, but there remained great uncertainty about the effective date of the repeal. In 1862 a new law was passed which clarified this matter and provided instructions on the method of executions. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many states abolished capital punishment, only to follow this example of repeal, usually after a sensational murder.

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ent and more numerous group of oppressed aliens. It was difficult for rationalist reformers to preach against the violence of capital punishment when reformers themselves advocated the shedding of blood. At the height of the controversy over the death penalty in 1860, Martin H. Bovee, who had been primarily responsible for the Wisconsin law and who worked for reform in New York and Illinois, was struggling to complete what he hoped would be the definitive work against capital punishment. Drawing on arguments and statistics of earlier legislative reports, the book would present a final and unanswerable case against hanging, a case which could not fail to persuade reasonable men to follow the enlightened example of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Rhode Island. But the publication date had been set for the year 1861. As Bovee later confessed, explaining why his book had not appeared: "To have presented a work of this kind during the continuance of such a struggle, would have been 'ill-timed,' to say the least. . . ."[94]

After the Civil War, men's finer sensibilities, which had once been revolted by the execution of a fellow being, seemed hardened and blunted. In the 1870's and immediately prior to World War I, many states would at least temporarily abolish capital punishment, but the movement failed to recapture the widespread enthusiasm and evangelical fervor of the 1830's and 1840's.

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[94] Bovee, *Reasons for Abolishing Capital Punishment* (Chicago, 1876), p. viii.

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Medieval Real Estate Developments and Freedom

Bryce Lyon

FOR well over a hundred years historians specializing in agrarian institutions of the Middle Ages have suggested that the vast land reclamation characterizing the eleventh and twelfth centuries in western Europe contributed to the emancipation of the common man. There has been continual study of those hardy pioneers who cleared the forests, drained the marshes, and won land from the sea so as to determine the importance of land expansion in the medieval economic revival. C. J. Bishko has recently emphasized the role of the interior and exterior medieval land frontier in changing the map of the traditional medieval countryside. In his various books and articles the late James Westfall Thompson anglicized what long had been known by German historians regarding the colonization of the low-lying lands between the Weser and Elbe Rivers.[1] But as is natural with research demanding intensive topographical work, the Europeans have led the way in this field. During the nineteenth century Karl G. Lamprecht, August Meitzen, Charles Duvivier, and Henri Sée drew attention in general to the connection between land reclamation, colonization, and freedom of the peasant, but they were not precise enough and in some instances garbled their evidence.[2] This is not so true with some of the regional studies. For the Île de France, Maurice Prou realized the significance of the colonizing efforts of Louis VI when he founded a *ville neuve* in the sparsely populated area of Lorris and granted to the peasants who came there to live and to work the land a charter of elementary bourgeois liberties. Thus the French kings founded an agrarian community with the freedoms of many urban centers and stimulated the culture of the

[1] The ideas of Professor Bishko were expressed in a paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in 1955 entitled "The Frontier in Medieval History." The conclusions of Thompson are readily accessible in his *Feudal Germany* (Chicago, 1928), chaps. xiii, xv. See also his "East German Colonization in the Middle Ages," *Report of the Proceedings of the Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association* (1915), pp. 125–50; "Dutch and Flemish Colonization in Mediaeval Germany," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIV (1918), 159–86; *An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages (300–1300)* (New York, 1928), pp. 517–27.

[2] Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte* (4th ed., Berlin, 1921), III, 463–85; Meitzen, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen* (Berlin, 1895), II, 419–75; Duvivier, "Hospites. Défrichements en Europe et spécialement dans nos contrées aux XI^e^, XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles," *Revue de l'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, I (1859–60), 74–90, 131–75; Sée, "Les 'hôtes' et les progrès des classes rurales en France au moyen âge," *Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*, XII (1898), 116–31.

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vine in an area hitherto unproductive.[3] It is well known how the charter of Lorris served as a model for similar foundations in the royal domain as well as in neighboring lands.[4] The classic study of Léopold Delisle on the agrarian class of Normandy has much to say of *défrichement* and its effect in accelerating the early commutation of labor services.[5] Robert Latouche has written two monographs, recently summarized in his book on the origins of the western economy, telling how the abbeys of Maine created *bourgs* around their buildings and then lured *hospites aut burgenses* there with economic and legal privileges. In and around these *bourgs* developed profitable agrarian communities with liberties comparable to those of urban bourgeois.[6] For the *Midi* the nineteenth-century historian M. A. Curie-Seimbres argued in his book on the *bastides* that many were founded to promote agrarian activity; he showed how on into the modern period some remained agrarian communities populated since the thirteenth century by free farmers.[7] Although subsequent scholars have differed on the motives of the lords founding *bastides* (some, like Charles Higounet, contending that they were planned as garrison towns along the French and English frontier, and others, like Odon de Saint-Blanquat, that they were intended to promote *défrichement* and exploitation of the soil), all have agreed that the colonization efforts of the counts of Toulouse, the English kings, and Alphonse of Poitiers contributed to freeing the peasant.[8] For east of the Île de France scholars have reached similar conclusions for Champagne, Burgundy, and Lorraine.[9] For

[3] Prou, *Les coutumes de Lorris et leur propogation aux* XII^e^ *et* XIII^e^ *siècles* (Paris, 1884).

[4] Marc Bloch, *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (Paris, 1931), p. 98; Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Les communes françaises* (Paris, 1947), pp. 39 ff.; Henri Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (New York, 1936), pp. 73–74; *Cambridge Economic History*, ed. J. H. Clapham and E. Power (Cambridge, 1941), I, 72, 319.

[5] Delisle, *Études sur la condition de la classe agricole et l'état de l'agriculture en Normandie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1903), pp. 8–14, 121–71, 272–96.

[6] Latouche, "Un aspect de la vie rurale dans le Maine au XI^e^ et au XII^e^ siècle: l'établissement des bourgs," *Le Moyen Âge*, XLVII (1937), 44–64; "Défrichement et peuplement rural dans le Maine du IX^e^ au XIII^e^ siècle," *Le Moyen Âge*, LIV (1948), 77–87; *Les origines de l'économie occidentale (IV^e^–XI^e^ siècle)* (Paris, 1956), pp. 310–45.

[7] Curie-Seimbres, *Essai sur les villes fondées dans le sud-ouest de la France aux* XIII^e^ *et* XIV^e^ *siècles, sous le nom générique de bastides* (Toulouse, 1880).

[8] Higounet, "Bastides et frontières," *Le Moyen Âge*, LIV (1948), 113–31. See also his articles on the *bastides* in *Annales du Midi*, XLVII (1935), 365–73; LXI (1949), 359–67; LXII (1950), 121–34; LXIII (1951), 293–304; LXV (1953), 301–30; LXVIII (1956), 227–53. Higounet's military thesis is supported by G. Loirette, "La charte de coutumes de la bastide de Créon (1315)," *Annales du Midi*, LXIV (1952), 283–95. For the opposing argument of De Saint-Blanquat see "Les origines des bastides du sud-ouest," *Études Régionales pour l'Enseignement* (Toulouse, 1942), pp. 279–81; "Comment se sont créées les bastides du sud-ouest de la France," *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, IV (1949), 278–89. The view that *bastides* may have been founded as administrative centers is advanced by J.-P. Trabut-Cussac, "Créon, bastide administrative," *Annales du Midi*, LXVI (1954), 343–50.

[9] E. T. Bonvalot, *Le tiers état d'après la charte de Beaumont et ses filiales* (Paris, 1884). See also G. Robert, "La loi de Beaumont dans les domaines de St. Remi de Reims," *Travaux de l'Académie Nationale de Reims*, CXXXIV (1914); "La ville neuve de Florent," *ibid.*, CXLIII

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Belgium Henri Pirenne has produced an admirable account of colonization in Maritime Flanders, which has been supplemented by the studies of Gaston Dept, Antoine de Smet, and the geographer Raoul Blanchard.[10] For Holland there are the fine works of B. H. Slicher van Bath and S. J. Fockema Andreae;[11] for Germany, those of Richard Schroeder, Eduard O. Schulze, Rudolf Kötzschke, and Richard Koebner.[12] Although as early as the seventeenth century William Dugdale called attention to the importance of draining and embanking, English scholars have lagged behind in this research. Only H. C. Darby and H. E. Hallam have done any significant work on the fenlands, and they have said little about land reclamation and its effect on the colonist.[13]

(1930). For Lorraine see Charles E. Perrin, "Chartes de franchise et rapports de droits en Lorraine," *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences,* X (1938), 514–16; *Recherches sur la seigneurie rurale en Lorraine au moyen âge* (Paris, 1935). For Burgundy see André Déléage, *La vie rurale en Bourgogne jusqu'au début du* XI^e^ *siècle* (Paris, 1941), I, 83–90, 360–405, 536–38; Jean Richard, *Les ducs de Bourgogne et la formation du duché du* XI^e^ *au* XIV^e^ *siècle* (Paris, 1954), pp. 329–52; "Une franchise jurée dans une villeneuve rurale (1292)," *Annales de Bourgogne,* XXIV (1952), 257–61. See also the articles of P. de Saint Jacob in *Annales de Bourgogne,* XIII (1941), XV (1943), XVIII (1946), XX (1948). For the influence of the customs of Prisches (1158) on rural liberty in Vermandois and Hainaut, see Léon Vanderkindere, "Un village du Hainaut au XII^e^ siècle. La loi de Prisches," *Mélanges Paul Fredericq* (Bruxelles, 1904). For France in general see Bloch, *Caractères originaux,* pp. 172–94.

[10] Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* (5th ed., Bruxelles, 1929), I, 153–57, 301–12, 319. The classic work is by Blanchard, *La Flandre, étude géographique de la plaine flamande en France, Belgique et Hollande* (Paris, 1906). See also De Smet, "Het Waterwegennet ten Noordoosten van Brugge in de XIII^e^ Eeuw. (Oude Zwin, Reie en Zwin)," *La Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* XII (1933), 1023–59; XIII (1934), 83–121; "L'origine des ports du Zwin. Damme, Mude, Monikerede, Hoeke et Sluis," *Études d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne* (Bruxelles, 1937), pp. 125–41; *De Geschiedenis van het Zwin* (Antwerp, 1940); Dept, "Étude critique sur une grande inondation marine à la côte flamande (19 novembre 1404)," *Études à Henri Pirenne,* pp. 105–24; "Introduction à la géographie historique du comté de Flandre au XVIII^e^ siècle," *Bulletin de la Société Belge d'Études Géographiques,* XIII (1943), 1–39.

[11] Slicher van Bath, *Mensch en Land in de Middeleeuwen. Een Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Nederzettingen in Oostelijk Nederland* (Assen, 1945), I–II; "Manor, Mark and Village in the Eastern Netherlands," *Speculum,* XXI (1946), 115–28; Fockema Andreae, *Studiën over Waterschapsgeschiedenis* (Leiden, 1950), I–VII; "Embanking and Drainage Authorities in the Netherlands during the Middle Ages," *Speculum,* XXVII (1952), 158–67.

[12] Schroeder, *Die Niederländischen Kolonien im Norddeutschland zur Zeit des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1880); Schulze, *Niederlandische Siedelungen in den Marschen an der unteren Weser und Elbe im* XII *und* XIII *Jahrhundert* (Hanover, 1889); *Die Kolonisierung und Germanisierung der Gebiete zwischen Saale und Elbe* (Leipzig, 1896); Kötzschke, *Quellen zur Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation im 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert* (2d ed., Leipzig, 1931); R. and E. W. Kötzschke, *Geschichte der ostdeutschen Kolonisation* (Leipzig, 1937); Koebner, "Deutsches Recht und deutsche Kolonisation in den Piastenländern," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* XXV (1932); "Dans les terres de colonisation: marchés slaves et villes allemandes," *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale,* IX (1937), 547–67; *Cambridge Economic History,* I, chap. i.

[13] Dugdale, *The History of Imbanking and Draining of Divers Fens and Marshes* (2d ed., London, 1772); Darby, *The Medieval Fenland* (Cambridge, 1940); Hallam, "The New Lands of Elloe: a Study of Early Reclamation in Lincolnshire," *English Local History. Occasional Papers of University College of Leicester,* VI (1954). See also R. A. L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory: a Study in Monastic Administration* (Cambridge, 1943); Edward Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 113 ff.; Nellie Neilson, *A Terrier of Fleet Lincolnshire* (London, 1920), pp. v–lxxxi; *The Cartulary and Terrier of the Priory of Bilsington, Kent* (London, 1928), pp. 39–56.

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For western Europe, then, it may be said that numerous historians have emphasized the interdependence of the medieval economic revival, the sharp rise in the demographic curve, and the extensive land reclamation of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; that some historians have shown the connection between these real estate projects and the economic and legal freedom won by the peasant colonist; and that a few historians have gone on to suggest that the new lands of freedom forced change upon the old seignorial land causing lords to commute labor services in order to hold their tenants. But beyond this point historians have seldom ventured; no one has studied in detail the development of social, economic, legal, and political liberty in areas of land reclamation and its effect upon the common man. Admittedly French historians such as Achille Luchaire, Charles Petit-Dutaillis, and Marc Bloch, have attempted to describe how some of these privileged agrarian communities became rural communes with political rights comparable to the urban commune; how with a unity and a certain amount of administrative *savoir faire* born out of economic necessity, they first ordered their economic, social, and legal life, then their parish affairs, and finally bargained or fought their way to the status of commune, in some cases juridically recognized by charter.[14] The evidence is so scant, however, that seldom is the description of this evolution satisfactory. Even for northeastern and southern France, where the evidence is most abundant, the lacunae along the way make it extremely difficult to provide a step-by-step account of the evolution from wilderness to commune. In fact, an examination of the pertinent evidence for western Europe suggests that the fullest documentation for such study comes from medieval Flanders. With his magical sense for asking the right questions and surmizing the correct answers, Pirenne sketched the lines of such an evolution in his *Histoire de Belgique,*[15] but he was never to complete the picture. What follows is primarily an attempt to apply this Pirenne idea to the pertinent early texts found in the Flemish cartularies and registers.

By the early eleventh century a fortuitous coincidence of physical and economic developments combined to make Maritime Flanders, then only a belt of windblown sand and aqueous waste extending from Bourbourg to Antwerp, the center of feverish activity by counts and ecclesiastical establishments to reclaim land from moor, marsh, dune, and sea. In the ninth century the North Sea, so geologists and geographers tell us, entered upon

[14] Luchaire, *Les communes françaises* (nouv. éd., Paris, 1911), pp. 68–96; Bloch, *Les caractères originaux,* pp. 172–94; *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française. Supplément établi d'après les travaux de l'auteur (1931–1944),* by Robert Dauvergne (Paris, 1956), pp. 182–86; Petit-Dutaillis, *Les communes françaises,* pp. 39–81.

[15] I, 153–57, 301–12.

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one of its phases of receding water level, ending four centuries of high water, which in the fifth century had forced the evacuation of Frisians and Saxons. It continued to retreat until the fourteenth century, leaving in its wake sand banks, dunes, marshes, and small streams.[16] Thus smiled upon by Neptune, the Flemish were able to complete what nature had begun. Through extensive diking and draining, they opened up new land to receive a growing population and to supply food for the towns sprouting up in this sensitive economic region. The counts, who possessed this waste area by virtue of regalian rights usurped from the Carolingians, began to exploit it directly or to grant parts of it to be reclaimed by such abbeys as Saint Pierre of Ghent and Saint-Bertin of Saint-Omer.[17] As early as the eleventh century, some time between 1055 and 1067, the archbishop of Rheims wrote a letter to Count Baldwin V congratulating him on having transformed unproductive waste into fertile lands.[18] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the fight against the sea continued with the counts and the Cistercians playing the leading role.[19]

But let us see more concretely how this battle was fought. Ten kilometers south of Dunkerque is the French town of Bergues, which in the Middle Ages belonged to the county of Flanders. A wettish place by any standard, averaging 134 days of rainfall yearly, it was even soggier in the early Middle Ages. In the fifth century it was but a speck in the sea connected to the continent by a ribbon of land. This ribbon had widened by the tenth century, and the elevation of land known as Mont Saint-Winnoc was surrounded on three sides by marsh. On the seaward side, however, water continued to lap at the tip of the finger of land and was still doing so in the year 1107.[20] It was here

[16] Blanchard, *La Flandre,* pp. 134 ff.; Aimé L. Rutot, "Les origines du quaternaire de la Belgique," *Mémoires de la Société Belge de Géologie, de Paléontologie et d'Hydrologie,* XI (1897), 1–140; J.-O. Andries, "Notice sur la grande bruyère flamande de Bulscamp," *Annales de la Société d'Émulation pour l'Histoire et les Antiquités de la Flandre Occidentale,* XIII (1864–65), 271–330; Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique,* I, 154, 301 ff.; De Smet, *Geschiedenis van het Zwin,* pp. 7 ff.

[17] Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique,* I, 118–32, 154–55; F. L. Ganshof, *La Flandre sous les premiers comtes* (3d ed., Bruxelles, 1949), pp. 62–65; *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden,* ed. Hans Van Werveke, *et al.* (Antwerp, 1950), II, 464–71; Auguste Van Lokeren, *Chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint Pierre au Mont Blandin à Gand* (Gand, 1868), I, nos. 206, 213–14, 244, etc.; Benjamin E. C. Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin* (Paris, 1841), Simon I, no. XIV; Simon II, no. XLV; Simon III, nos. VII, XVII.

[18] *Ex Miraculis S. Donatiani Brugensibus,* ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores* (Hanover, 1888), XV, ii, 855.

[19] Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique,* I, 301 ff.; Édouard de Moreau, *Histoire de l'église en Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1945), III, 413–15; Ferdinand Van de Putte, "Esquisse sur la mise en culture de la Flandre occidentale," *Annales d'Émulation,* III (1841), 173–227; Armand Heins and Victor Fris, "Les granges monumentales des anciennes abbayes des Dunes et de Ter Doest dans la Flandre maritime," *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand,* XIII (1905), 65–109. The evidence comes from the charters of the counts of Flanders and the cartularies of such abbeys as Dunes, Ter Doest, Oudenbourg, Groeninge, Saint Nicholas at Furnes, Nonnenbossche, and Zonnebeke.

[20] Blanchard, *La Flandre,* pp. 24–31, 149, 156, 158–61; Louis Debaecker, *Recherches historiques sur la ville de Bergues en Flandre* (Bruges, 1849).

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that some of the first extensive land reclamation occurred. In 1067 Count Baldwin V issued a remarkable charter to the Benedictine monastery of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc. Proudly stating in the preamble that it had been founded by his predecessor Baldwin the Bald (879–918), he showed his benevolent attitude toward the monastery by bestowing on it a goodly number of revenues, rights, and land. Saint-Winnoc was to receive reclaimed land just to the south at Wormhout and, in addition, all the dunes at Synthes and any land that would accrue there by the shifting of the sea. It was also empowered to exploit any land reclaimed from the sea and marsh.[21] To ensure the labor necessary for such an enterprise, Baldwin provided that all *hospites* who came there were to be free from all seignorial obligations, exempt from *taille* and arbitrary exaction, and free from the *ban* and service owed to count or *châtelain*.[22] Baldwin then defined the nature of the relations between the *hospites* and the abbot. They were to enjoy the same status as the comital *hospites* who were under the jurisdiction of the *prévôt* and *échevins* of the *châtellenie* of Bruges, that is, they were to be subject to officers appointed by the abbot. Though the charter is not too explicit, it would seem that each settler was to pay 6*d*. annually for his land, which could be passed on to heirs. At the end Baldwin swore to protect the men of Saint-Winnoc as he would his own subjects. Here, at one stroke, was created an agrarian *ville neuve* with most of the elementary bourgeois privileges held by the inhabitants of such towns as Ghent, Bruges, and Saint-Omer which, as yet, had not attained communal status.[23] Wasteland continued to be granted to Saint-Winnoc in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the privileged land of freedom around it constantly expanded as plot after plot of land was won from water and converted into pasture and arable land.[24]

At Bourbourg, a few kilometers to the west of Saint-Winnoc, was the Benedictine house of Notre-Dame, a convent for women founded in 1101 by Count Robert II.[25] Immediately upon its founding it received grants and

[21] R. P. A. Pruvost, *Chronique et Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Bergues-Saint-Winoc de l'ordre de Saint-Benoît* (Bruges, 1875), I, 57: ". . . et salinas in Sintonis quas grevas vocant, si redacte in terram cultibilem ex beneficio maris accreverint, liberas eis cum omni incremento tradidi . . . et si solitudo vel quecumque terra incultibilis juxta terram predicti monasterii jacuerit, eam liceat eidem monasterio sine omni contradictione usui proprio mancipere; et quidquid in supradictis villis ex beneficio maris vel paludis accreverit ut quale et cujusmodi jus habet interius habeat et exterius."

[22] *Ibid.*: ". . . submanentibus autem super terram libertatis predicti monasterii tantum libertatem concessi, ut solius abbatis justicie de omnibus forisfactis et emendis subjaceant; et neque in expeditionem neque in exercitum vadant, nisi ab abbate commoniti; et a talliis et exactionibus et edicto et servitio comitis eos absolvo."

[23] Pirenne, *Les villes et les institutions urbaines* (Bruxelles, 1939), I, 75–122; *Medieval Cities* (Princeton, 1925), pp. 183–92; *Histoire de Belgique*, I, 201–209.

[24] See the *Cartulaire de Bergues-Saint-Winoc*, pp. 88, 122, 163, 199, 224.

[25] Edmond de Coussemaker, *Notice sur les archives de l'abbaye de Bourbourg* (Dunkerque,

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favors from the comital house, and before long Robert bestowed upon it certain donations and privileges.[26] It was to receive some newly won land just to the west at Bonehem and whatever land should be reclaimed from the sea by poldering.[27] The settlers were to hold their land heritably and upon inheritance to pay a nominal relief. All were obliged to guard and repair the dikes, but if the sea should inundate the land through no fault of theirs, the convent would pay for reconstructing the dikes.[28] All justice was to reside with the convent. A sheepfold called *terra nova,* not far from Furnes along the Yser River, was given to the convent. In addition, it was to receive any land won from the sea. When reclaimed and measured into plots, the land was to be assessed rents by experienced men of the community.[29] We need not delve into the rest of the charter dealing with the payment of rents and dike obligations to see that the settlers in these two regions were to enjoy the same elementary bourgeois liberties as the *hospites* who extended the comital domains.

Much of our information concerning the comital *hospites* comes from a charter granted by Count Robert II (1093–1111) to his men of Berquin and Steenwerck, two areas lying near the stream of Estaires in the moors to the southeast of Ypres.[30] The men paid a yearly rent of grain for their land and were freed from all seignorial exactions and from military service.[31] They

1859); Ignace de Coussemaker, *Un cartulaire de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Bourbourg* (Lille, 1882), I.

[26] These early concessions and privileges are summarized in a document drawn up in the second half of the thirteenth century which is in the *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Bourbourg.* It was first published by Ignace de Coussemaker, *Cartulaire de Bourbourg,* no. CCXX. It has recently been reedited and discussed by Michel Mollat, "Les hôtes de l'abbaye de Bourbourg," *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 513–21. Subsequent citations of this document are from Mollat's edition.

[27] "De Bonhem. Hanc terram dedit comes Robertus et quicquid ibi accreverit per jactum maris."

[28] "Notandum vero quod hii qui hanc terram de jure hereditario tenent, eandem ecclesiam de fossatis indempnem conservare tenentur, ita quod, si mare forte irruperit, censuum nichilominus integre persolvere debent, et fossatum propriis sumptibus reficere; terram vero que ibi accreverit ad talem censum tenere debent qualem alteram tenent. Relevium hujus terre est tantum quantum census unius anni, sicut de omnibus berquariis." In a later clause the abbess agreed that in the advent of a general inundation of the Flemish coast she would give her *hospites* whatever aid the count of Flanders gave his.

[29] "Sciendum tamen quod census istius terre certissime sciri non poterit, nisi per brevia, quia terra illa et potest decrascsere per fractum et potest crescere per jactum ejusdem maris. Quocienscumque vero terra aliqua ibi accreverit et eadem hospitibus, per capitulum et rationcinatores, ad terminum rationabilem, ad circomfodendum oblata fuerit . . ."

[30] This act, preserved in a confirmation by Count Thierry of Alsace in 1160, is published in L. A. Warnkoenig-A. Gheldolf, *Histoire de la Flandre et des ses institutions civiles et politiques jusqu'à l'année 1305* (Bruxelles, 1836), II, and in E. de Coussemaker, "Documents relatifs à la Flandre Maritime extraits du cartulaire de l'abbaye de Watten," *Annales du Comité Flamand de France,* V (1859–60), Pièces justificatives, no. III. Subsequent citations are from De Coussemaker's edition.

[31] "Sint igitur, sicut fuerunt tempore comitis Roberti, ab omni servili opere liberrimi, videlicet: ut non eant in exercitum; ut nullus minister noster ab eis aliquid petat, sive sit preco sive forestarius, vel eciam castellanus."

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were empowered to elect a magistrate who was to render justice in the presence of the seneschal of the count. If the magistrate was unjust, they could replace him; if the comital *châtelain* or any such officer oppressed them, they could appeal to the count for justice.[32] A charter granted by Thierry of Alsace in 1161, some sixty years later, supplements our knowledge of the privileged status of the comital *hospites*. He granted to settlers for cultivation his *solitudino,* a moor area around the present village of Woesten (wasteland), ten kilometers northwest of Ypres. They were to be entirely free from all seignorial services and exactions and from public services save for the common defense of the land. Thierry promised to build a church for the settlers, guaranteeing that it would be a separate parish. They were to be subject only to the authority and justice of the count and his delegated officer, in this instance the *notarius* of Ypres. No one could be tried other than in the local court presided over by the *notarius,* who was to receive twice yearly at Ypres a rent of money and kind from the settlers for their parcels of land.[33]

And so it went with other communities. In 1107 Nieuport began its existence on a piece of land reclaimed from the sea at Sandeshove at the mouth of the Yser; poldering continued and in 1163 Count Thierry founded there a *ville neuve* with the customary elementary bourgeois privileges.[34] To the west and east arose Dunkerque, East Dunkerque, Westende, Middelkerke, Ostende, and Blankenberge. Inland there were Furnes, Dixmude, Ramskapelle, and Westkerke.[35] Along the Zwin River from Bruges to the sea the development was particularly striking. The Zwin, originally a gulf extending up to Bruges, had shrunk to a narrow river in the twelfth century and

[32] The following sentence is most pertinent: "Et ut sit ista libertas firmior, habeant potestatem eligendi sibi super se ministrum qui eos manuteneat; cui respondeant; qui eos, presente dapifero nostro vel nuntio, ad causam convocat; et eos, salvo jure nostro, ad justiciam advocat."

[33] This document is published in Warnkoenig-Gheldolf, *Histoire de la Flandre,* II, Pièces justificatives, no. CLVII, and in Louis Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Coutumes des pays et comté de Flandre. Quartier de Furnes. Coutumes de la ville et châtellenie de Furnes* (Bruxelles, 1897), III, no. III. For comment see Émile de Borchgrave, *Histoire des colonies belges qui s'établirent en Allemagne, pendant le* XII^me^ *et le* XIII^me^ *siècle,* in *Mémoires Couronnés et Mémoires des Savants Étrangers, Publiés par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1864–65), XXXIII, 49–51.

[34] Blanchard, *La Flandre,* pp. 157, 235; Warnkoenig-Gheldolf, *Histoire de la Flandre,* II, 231–37; Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Coutumes des pays et comté de Flandre. Quartier de Furnes. Coutumes de la ville et du port de Nieuport* (Bruxelles, 1901), V, nos. I–II, IV–V; Raymond Monier, *Les institutions judiciaires des villes de Flandre des origines à la rédaction des coutumes* (Lille, 1924), p. 125; Alphonse Wauters, *Les libertés communales* (Bruxelles, 1878), II, 555–58.

[35] Blanchard, *La Flandre,* pp. 161 ff.; Warnkoenig-Gheldorf, *Histoire de la Flandre,* II, 231 ff., 310 ff.; V, 182 ff., 266–67, 283 ff.; Monier, *Institutions judiciaires,* pp. 125 ff.; Wauters, *Les libertés communales,* II, 355–58, 559–60; Victor Derode, *Histoire de Dunkerque* (Lille, 1852), pp. 13 ff.; Charles L. Carton, "Notice sur Blankenberge," *Annales de la Société d'Émulation,* III (1841), 53–144; K. Loppens, *Histoire de Coxyde et de l'abbaye des Dunes* (Coxyde, 1930), pp. 7 ff.

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then silted rapidly as the sea kept withdrawing and poldering along its banks progressed.[36] Damme appeared first, in 1150, located on new land of the count of Flanders. In 1200 we hear of Mude, which by 1226 was a port. Also in 1226 the records first speak of Monnikerede. In the middle of the century Hoeke appeared, and then later Sluis. These foundations soon became prominent ports with elementary bourgeois liberties.[37] Meanwhile, all about the *châtellenie* of Bruges and in the Quatre-Métiers next to the Scheldt reclamation produced scores of small free agrarian communities such as Lisseweghe, Westkapelle, and Watervliet.[38] Those strategically located for trade quickly sloughed off their agrarian character and became urban marts or ports; the others remained agricultural villages, as is the case even today with many such as Lisseweghe and Woesten.

These examples spell out in detail how the counts and ecclesiastical establishments cooperated to convert Maritime Flanders from a desolate waste into a fertile, revenue producing land peopled with free farmers living in an economically, socially, and legally privileged area. They lacked only self-government; but even it was to come soon. The ingredients necessary to secure it—communal unity and cooperation in economic and legal affairs—were present from the outset. To win land from the sea and to hold it, dike associations were organized with officers and regulations. In spite of a lack of evidence in the twelfth century on the organization of such cooperative enterprises, we know that they existed, first as independent local creations and then as associations centrally supervised by comital officers. From the early thirteenth century these associations appear in the texts under the name of *Wateringen* and, as such, they still exist in Maritime Flanders.[39] In the territorial constitution of Flanders the *Wateringen* are analogous to the urban guilds which took the lead in winning self-government for communes such as Saint-Omer

[36] De Smet, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* XII, 1023–59; XIII, 83–121; *De Geschiedenis van het Zwin,* pp. 1–11. In both studies De Smet has included excellent maps showing the changes undergone by the Zwin.

[37] De Smet, *Études à Henri Pirenne,* pp. 125–41; *De Geschiedenis van het Zwin,* pp. 11 ff.

[38] Warnkoenig-Gheldolf, *Histoire de la Flandre,* II, 315–26; IV, 157–221; Wauters, *Les libertés communales,* II, 255–56; Blanchard, *La Flandre,* pp. 157–63. Numerous texts bearing upon this development are published in Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Coutumes des pays et comté de Flandre. Quartier de Bruges. Coutumes des petites villes et seigneuries enclavées,* I–VI; *Coutumes des pays et comté de Flandre. Quartier de Furnes,* I, III, V. See also Van de Putte and Carton, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Ter Doest* (Bruges, 1845); Léopold D. M. Van Hollebeke, *Lisseweghe, son église et son abbaye* (Bruges, 1863).

[39] Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique,* I, 310–11; Blanchard, *La Flandre,* p. 271. Some documents describing the organization of the *Wateringen* are in M. J. and G. Wolters, *Recueil de lois, arrêtés, règlements etc., concernant l'administration des eaux et polders de la Flandre orientale* (Gand, 1869), I; Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Coutumes des pays et comté de Flandre. Coutume du franc de Bruges* (Bruxelles, 1879), II, 436, 446, 602. For a good study on diking of land and the dike association see Henri Obreen, "De Bedijking der Hincline op Zuid-Beveland (1263–1269). Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het 13e Eeuwsche Dijkrecht," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis,* XI (1931), 56–77.

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and Bruges. Organized as was the guild merchant to meet an economic need, these associations became autonomous corporations and instruments of public power. What the *châtelains* and *baillis* were to the large towns, the *Watergraven* and *Moermeesters* were to the *Wateringen*. These, then, were the organizations that came in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries to bargain with counts for self-government, a goal they, like the famous communes of the early twelfth century, attained by peaceful negotiation with enlightened rulers.[40]

In 1180 Damme attained its *échevinage* and a charter of liberties modeled upon that of Bruges. Around the middle of the thirteenth century Mude, Monikerede, and Hoeke received the liberties of Bruges, as did Sluis in 1290.[41] Turning to the west, we find that Nieuport was self-governing in the early thirteenth century, that Ostende followed suit in 1267.[42] During the thirteenth century all the prominent communities, that is, those that rapidly developed into commercial centers, attained a similar status. But particularly significant is the number of small communities of free, self-reliant farmers that acquired self-government in the thirteenth century—Watervliet, Eecloo, Aardenbourg, and Ysendike.[43] There is some reason to believe that the free farmers of Oudenbourg, a small farming community just west of Bruges, used the disturbances connected with the assassination of Count Charles the Good in 1127 to acquire self-government along with Saint-Omer, Bruges, and the other large towns.[44] Still but a tiny farming village, Oudenbourg exemplifies the small agrarian villages that secured self-government in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and then remained rural communities or, as they are termed, rural communes down to the end of the *Ancien Régime*.

By 1300 the administrative circumscriptions that composed Maritime Flanders—the Franc de Bruges, the *châtellenies* of Furnes, Bergues, Cassel, Bailleul, Bourbourg, and Bruges—had become territorial communes. The

[40] Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*, pp. 183 ff.; *Les villes et les institutions urbaines*, pp. 75–110, 123–41; *Le soulèvement de la Flandre maritime de 1323–1328* (Bruxelles, 1900), pp. i–xi.

[41] De Smet, *Études à Henri Pirenne*, pp. 125–41; *De Geschiedenis van het Zwin*, pp. 11 ff.; Monier, *Institutions judiciaires*, pp. 125 ff.; Warnkoenig-Gheldolf, *Histoire de la Flandre*, II, 234 ff., 300, 310–22; Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Coutumes des pays et comté de Flandre. Quartier de Bruges*, II, 3 ff., 52, 165, 179, 455–56, 472; III, 51 ff., 236, 259, 338; IV, 443–44, 500.

[42] Monier, *Institutions judiciaires*, pp. 125 ff.; Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Coutumes des pays et comté de Flandre. Quartier de Furnes. Coutumes de la ville et du port de Nieuport*, V, nos. II, IV–V, VIII–IX, XI; *Quartier de Bruges*, IV, 27; Warnkoenig-Gheldolf, *Histoire de la Flandre*, IV, Pièces justificatives, no. CLIV.

[43] Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Coutumes des pays et comté de Flandre. Quartier de Bruges*, I, nos. II, VI–VII, X; II, 455–56, 472; V, 271; VI, 468–69; Warnkoenig-Gheldolf, *Histoire de la Flandre*, II, 213, Pièces justificatives, nos. CXXXVII, CXL.

[44] E. Feys and Désiré van de Casteele, *Histoire d'Oudenbourg* (Bruges, 1873), I, 61–64, 69–71, 353, 361–62, 370–78. For the events connected with the assassination of Count Charles the Good see Galbert de Bruges, *Histoire du meurtre de Charles le Bon*, ed. Pirenne (Paris, 1891), chaps. li–lii, lx.

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urban communes remained independent from territorial organization and dealt directly with the counts or the *baillis,* but the rural communities were lumped together into a territorial arrangement forming a vast commune. A group of *échevins* composed a territorial court and an administrative council; associated with this territorial *échevinage* were the *échevins* of the small rural communities. Each territorial commune enjoyed the same status as the great towns: each possessed its law, its privileges, and its court; each enjoyed a large autonomy and constituted a corporation recognized and guaranteed by public law.[45] From this land of freedom—Maritime Flanders—was launched the bloody revolt against Louis de Nevers in 1323. Disgusted with the count's subservience to the French kings, outraged by the exactions of money to satisfy peace terms with the French, and fearful of losing a liberty that had always existed in their land, the farmers sustained the fiercest social and economic uprising of the Middle Ages, broken only by the combined strength of the count and the king of France at Cassel in 1328.[46] Though confiscation and execution followed, Maritime Flanders did not lose its freedom; its political organization, as developed in the early fourteenth century, remained fundamentally the same to the end of the eighteenth century.

But what relevance do these developments have for the rest of Europe? Maritime Flanders, composed almost entirely of land won from water or waste, never knew seignorialism. Consequently, beginning with the eleventh century, it formed a privileged area that wore down the seignorial system dominant in the interior of Flanders. So relentless was the competition of this free land against the seignorial system that it forced early and rapid commutation of labor services. In 1252 when Countess Margaret suppressed the custom of the *melius catallum* (a mild form of *mortmain*) in the comital domain, she virtually proclaimed the end of serfdom in the county of Flanders and was only giving legal recognition to an economic situation that had existed in much of Flanders since the early thirteenth century.[47]

The pattern is the same in other comparable areas of *défrichement* and reclamation. None of Maritime Holland had known seignorialism, and in the

[45] Pirenne, *Soulèvement de la Flandre,* pp. viii–x; Warnkoenig-Gheldolf, *Histoire de la Flandre,* IV, 182, 203, 220–21.

[46] Pirenne, *Soulèvement de la Flandre,* pp. i–xl; *Histoire de Belgique,* II, 74–99.

[47] Warnkoenig-Gheldolf, *Histoire de la Flandre,* I, Pièces justificatives, no. XX. Pirenne well emphasized the relation between reclamation and emancipation: "À mesure que les progrès de la colonisation augmentent, on voit, dans les régions anciennement cultivées, de droit domanial et le servage s'atténuer" (*Histoire de Belgique,* I, 306). Cf. Ganshof: "In Flanders enfranchisement appears to have been completed in the thirteenth century, at any rate over the greater part of the County. Perhaps the special privileges given to the *hospites* who reclaimed, drained, and brought under cultivation the Flanders seaboard, contributed towards the early granting of the status of freemen to the inhabitants of that region" (*Cambridge Economic History,* I, 320).

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interior it had never been widespread.[48] The seignorial system had no part in the great expanses brought under cultivation in Germany during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; this is strikingly evident in northern Germany, particularly in the Ems, Weser, and Elbe region.[49] Delisle and others have proven that Artois, Pontieu, Picardy, and Normandy, where the earliest and most vigorous *défrichement* and reclamation occurred, saw the early disappearance of serfdom and the rise of free agrarian communities, many of them rural communes.[50] The same is true for the *bastide* region.[51]

Though observations for England are hampered by lack of research on the subject, there must be some connection between the large number of free farmers in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, and Kent and the land reclamation found in these counties from an early time. This definitely is the case around the estuary of the Thames; the area surrounding the Wash, especially Holland in Lincolnshire; Romney Marsh; and the fens.[52] It thus seems reasonable to conclude that agrarian freedom began first in these real estate developments and then fermented the commutation of labor services on seignorial land. Furthermore, it is safe to say that the constant pressure of these free areas guaranteed no letup in the commutation nor any retrogression to seignorialism. In the light of what Michael Postan has told us about the chronology of labor services in thirteenth-century England, that commutation dropped to insignificant propor-

[48] See especially Fockema Andreae, *Speculum,* XXVII (1952), 158–67; Slicher van Bath, *Speculum,* XXI (1946), 115–28.

[49] See above n. 12, as well as Borchgrave, *Mémoires Couronnés de Belgique,* XXXIII (1864–65); *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden,* II, 469–72. Pirenne emphasized the freedom that characterized the frontier lands of Germany: "After all, these immigrants of colonial Germany were also and pre-eminently new-comers, *hôtes* on this foreign soil where they were taking the place of Slavs. They received it by hereditary right in return for a moderate *cens,* and they were granted personal liberty, which was indeed indispensable in all colonial territories. Thus the new Germany not only differed from the old Germany in the distribution of its land, but also in the status of its inhabitants" (*Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe,* pp. 78–79).

[50] Delisle, *Classe agricole en Normandie,* p. 2: "Mais, à l'époque où Philippe de Beaumanoir écrivait [reign of Louis IX] ce qu'il dit des serfs avait depuis longtemps cessé d'être vrai pour la Normandie. Depuis près de deux siècles, le nom et l'état de serf étaient inconnus dans cette province." For his remarks on the *communes rurales* see pp. 137–71. See also Luchaire, *Les communes françaises,* pp. 68–80; Bloch, *Caractères originaux,* pp. 172 ff.

[51] Commenting upon the agrarian villages of the *Midi,* Bloch stated that by the beginning of the thirteenth century many had obtained "une relative autonomie." Of those villages which attained the status of *commune* or *consulat* each secured "son sceau, signe de l'individualité juridique, ses magistrats, nommés par les habitants, sous un contrôle seigneurial plus ou moins actif. En un mot, elle a conquis, en tant que société, sa place au grand soleil du droit" (*Caractères originaux,* pp. 177–78).

[52] See especially the remarks of Hallam, *Occasional Papers of Leicester,* VI (1954), 40–42. The connection between assarting in the fenlands and emancipation is borne out by Miller, *Abbey and Bishopric of Ely,* pp. 95–112. His comment on the bishop's rent revenue is most pertinent: "Compared with the average of 20 per cent for the estate as a whole, in the Marshland bailiwick assized rents rose by 60 per cent between 1222 and 1251. As a result, one of the striking things about the fenland—about Doddington or Elm or Wisbech for example—was the way in which large communities of rent-paying peasants had been settled on reclaimed land before 1250" (p. 108).

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tions and that there was a widespread attempt to reintroduce seignorial obligations, this remark may seem curious.[53] But Postan's conclusions are questionable for the areas of reclamation. There, free men increased, and in areas closely adjacent, commutation of services continued. Because of these islands of freedom there could be no retrogression; there could be only progression.[54] It is contended, therefore, that in many parts of Europe the free reclaimed lands exerted a constant and powerful pressure for the emancipation of the common man, and that they achieved this result much earlier than could have been done by the commutation of labor services alone.

The conclusions suggested above lead logically to a final observation on that much debated institution—the *Markgenossenschaft.* As many of us know, even those most emotionally attached to this free agrarian village of self-governing farmers of primeval Germany, competent scholars have bombarded this concept so relentlessly that scarcely a *Mark* associate has been left afloat. Today it is considered poor taste to wax enthusiastic over the *Markgenossenschaft* or its counterparts in France and England—the *commune rurale* and the township. There is no evidence from the early Middle Ages of such communities, and those who have found these Utopias have done so on the basis of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century records, squeezed and stretched to fit a preconceived idea.[55]

In the nineteenth century such Belgian scholars as Alphonse Wauters, Kervyn de Lettenhove, and Léon Vanderkindere eloquently praised the *communes rurales* of medieval Belgium which lamentably, they said, were destroyed by feudalism in the eighth and ninth centuries.[56] Vanderkindere was so saddened by their demise that he kept them around until the twelfth century. He could see no alternative to his view after reading through the so-called *Liber Traditionum* of the abbey of Saint Pierre of Ghent, a document drawn up in the tenth and eleventh centuries recording the land given to the abbey from its founding around 630 up to the twelfth century. Vanderkindere

[53] Postan, "The Chronology of Labour Services," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 4th ser., XX (1937), 169–93.

[54] See, for example, the figures on rents given by Miller, *Abbey and Bishopric of Ely,* p. 108, nn. 1–4.

[55] For a summary of the arguments pro and con on the *Markgenosssenschaft* see Carl Stephenson, "The Problem of the Common Man in Early Medieval Europe," *American Historical Review,* LI (1946), 419–38; Alfons Dopsch, *The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization* (London, 1937), chap. i.

[56] De Lettenhove, *Histoire de Flandre* (5th ed., Bruxelles, 1898), I, 34: "Le karl, tour à tour guerrier pendant la guerre et laboureur pendant la paix, associait à la fois le travail et la gloire à la liberté. Dans ces siècles où le monde romain ne connaissait que le citoyen oisif et l'esclave attaché à la glèbe, il appartenait aux peuples du Nord, appelés par une mission providentielle à renouveler la face de la société, de réhabiliter les arts utiles, et de placer à côté de l'épée qui frappe et détruit, le soc de la charrue qui ne déchire la terre que pour la féconder." Vanderkindere, "Liberté et propriété en Flandre du IXe au XIIe siècle," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* (1906), pp. 151–73; "La notion juridique de la commune," *ibid.,* pp. 193–218.

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regarded all the men who donated land to the abbey as free peasant proprietors.[57] Unhappily for him, Pirenne also read these records and conclusively proved that the donations were made by feudal lords who possessed considerable land worked by serfs.[58] More recently François L. Ganshof made a study of the lands of Saint Pierre for the same period and concluded that they show a seignorial system such as existed on the lands of Abbé Irminon of St. Germain-des-Prés.[59] With the appearance of these and similar studies, the *commune rurale* made its ignominious retreat from medieval Belgium and such has been its history elsewhere. But, one asks, why did such a good historian as Vanderkindere trip so badly on this problem? From a rapid reading of his works it soon becomes apparent that beyond the Saint Pierre evidence he relied principally on twelfth- and thirteenth-century records mostly derived from Maritime Flanders. Here he found all sorts of free communities which he thought had existed since the Germans introduced them in the early Middle Ages. Free they were, but what Vanderkindere did not see or care to admit was that they were new creations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, produced by the real estate developments stimulated by the revival of economic life in the Low Countries. From the beginning there were free communities in Maritime Flanders; soon they spread throughout all of Flanders. But these centuries of freedom, it should be understood, began in the eleventh, not in the fifth century.

And how much different was this development in Germany and France? It is significant that Justus Möser and Georg L. Ludwig von Maurer, the two most ardent proponents of the *Mark,* labored long and hard in the records of northern Germany. Möser's *Osnabrückische Geschichte,*[60] in which he set down his ideas on the *Mark,* was written principally from late medieval and early modern records of Westphalia. Von Maurer, also using late sources, tells us in his *Geschichte der Markenverfassung in Deutschland* that the *Markgenossenschaft* was most prominent in Westphalia, Lower Saxony, the Lower Rhine area, the Hanoverian lands, the forest areas of central and

[57] *Ibid.,* p. 170: "De quelque côté que je me tourne, j'aperçois donc, sur les rives de l'Escaut et de la Lys, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à l'époque où vont surgir les communes, des traces de liberté et de propriété." Vanderkindere believed that the comital power and communes of the twelfth century were new forces opposed to the old free Flemish communities. See especially his study entitled "La première phase de l'évolution constitutionnelle des communes flamandes," *Annales de l'Est et du Nord,* I (1905), as well as "La politique communale de Philippe d'Alsace et ses conséquences," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres* (1905).

[58] "Liberté et propriété en Flandre du VII[e] au XI[e] siècle," *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres* (1911), pp. 496–523. Pirenne concluded that "les paysans entraient dans la bourgeoisie et y acquéraient, sous l'influence de nouvelles conditions d'existence, une liberté que rien ne rattache à l'ancienne liberté germanique" (p. 523).

[59] "Le domaine gantois de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin à l'époque carolingienne," *La Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire,* XXVI (1948), 1021–41.

[60] (2d ed., Berlin, 1780.)

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southern Germany, and the peripheral lands of Switzerland and Frisia.[61] And where else would we expect him to find the *Mark* but in those very regions that had witnessed the most extensive land reclamation and *défrichement?* An area such as Lower Saxony was like Maritime Flanders; from the early twelfth century when reclamation began under the archbishop of Bremen it was a land of free agrarian communities which followed the evolution of Flanders. In France the earliest rural communes were concentrated in the southwestern and northeastern sections, again two areas where real estate developments were enthusiastically promoted. Jacques Flach, who thought he found a continuity between early medieval free villages and later rural communes did so most conveniently in northern France and the *Midi.* He was particularly impressed by the twelfth-century confederations of free villages in northern France formed to win communal status.[62] But as in Germany and Flanders, the evidence really portrays them as new creations in an area of reclamation.

If the Flemish records have been read correctly, they indicate that real estate developments played a role, perhaps more fundamental and more decisive than that of the great towns and the commutation of labor services, in bringing freedom to the common man of medieval Flanders. To affirm this conclusion as valid for the rest of western Europe, however, will require regional studies concentrating on the relation between reclamation and emancipation. I am convinced that those historians who will thus dirty their hands will find that they must downgrade the commutation of labor services as the great boulevard to freedom. And for those who must have a *Markgenossenschaft* in the Middle Ages, there is a comforting thought. With just a little cooperation on their part they can still have it; all they need do is wait until the eleventh or twelfth century. Then they may legitimately speak of *Marken, communes rurales,* and townships if that is what they choose to label these free communities that developed in forest and on moor, marsh, or windswept dune and shifting sand bar. But certainly we as historians must feel that it is more realistic and professional to derive freedom from land which we can tread on with our own feet and read about from genuine evidence than to derive it from a distant image born of faith and romantic idealism.

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[61] (Erlangen, 1856.) "Die Marken sind daher sehr wahrscheinlich ursprünglich über ganz Deutschland verbreitet gewesen. Zwar findet man sie in späteren Zeiten in grösserer Anzahl nur noch in Westphalen und Niedersachsen, zumal in den Braunschweigischen und Hannöverschen Landen, sodann am Niederrhein und Oberrhein, in der Wetterau, in der Schweiz z. B. in den Kantonen Schwiz, Uri, Bern, Chur, und Zug, im Toggenburg u. a. m." (p. 4).

[62] *Les origines de l'ancienne France* (Paris, 1893), II, 125–38. For the confederations of villages see also Luchaire, *Les communes françaises,* pp. 77–96.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

The Horizons of History*

LEONARD KRIEGER

THE most familiar distinction in the meaning of history has become its most fundamental problem. History refers both to what has happened in the past and to the historian's account of it. Now in itself this ambiguity need not—and for centuries did not—raise any momentous difficulties, for the prevalent attitude toward history has been embodied in a third definition which has operated as an effective synthesis of the first two. By this third definition history is the organized past, with events constituting the subject matter and the historian contributing the organization of them, whether narrative or analytical. In our times, however, this synthesis has been shredded. What was once a solution has now become our foremost problem, for the polar constituents of history as the organized past—that is, history as the past on the one hand and history as the historian's organization of it on the other—stand forth in their separate identities.

Behind this dissolution of the historical unit are two different kinds of development. The first is the philosophical tendency which questions both the knowability of the past and the integrity of the historian's organizing faculty. This is the tendency which has stimulated the far-flung debate on historical relativism and has activated the large literature upon epistemology and upon values in history. But at the same time there has been a second, more practical, development at work to undermine the unity of history and historian. Essentially, this has consisted in the burgeoning of history as past events beyond the capacity of the historian to organize it. This growing misproportion is not simply a physical matter of the crushing accumulation of evidence. More profoundly, it involves the addition of different kinds of evidence, with which the historian is only marginally or fortuitously equipped to deal. The very horizons of history are expanding, and as they do, the geography of history changes. The traditional field of history becomes one of many fields, and the traditional implements of the historian become cor-

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respondingly limited in their efficacy. It is primarily this development, and only derivatively the philosophy of history, that is our concern, for the philosophers of history will juggle anachronisms until we make it quite clear what history is—or more precisely, what it has become. The questions to which we must address ourselves, then, are: What are the new fields of history, and what is their relation to the old unified field of historical cultivation?

What are the new fields of history? A clue to the answer, but not the answer itself, is afforded by the more exotic spatial and substantive divisions within the discipline of history—like African history and intellectual history —which have been receiving increasing emphasis in our repertory. These divisions indicate an awareness of a historical world outside the familiar sphere of the politics of western civilization, but what they do not indicate is that this world has become different in kind from the old. The traditional world of history was made up of discrete events, temporally ordered, and its characteristic form was the chronicle or narrative. Western politics, as the most eventful of historical areas, was the most appropriate but never the exclusive subject of traditional history, and hence the excursions of historians beyond this area often simply extend traditional history in its wonted forms by slicing off those aspects of nonwestern and nonpolitical life which are also in obvious and continuous change. But the definition of the past in terms of chronologically connected events does not account for the entire past. It accounts only for that in it which has proved organizable under certain definite assumptions. The primary assumptions under which traditional history developed were: first, that the ultimate organizing principles of the past were themselves beyond history; and second, that what was essential in these principles articulated itself in the series of distinctive events that was history. The teleological and the pragmatic modes which dominated historiography down into the nineteenth century obviously shared both assumptions. Even the subsequent advocates of historical empiricism have been traditional in the sense of the second assumption, since their skepticism about ultimate principles has gone along with their agreement that specific events embody the motive force of human history. It is by reason of this assumption that traditional history has evolved its characteristic approach whereby description, whether of actions or of background situations, can itself constitute explanation.

The new fields of history arise, then, not from the renewed application of the discipline to the same kind of subject matter in other areas; they arise rather from a revolution of the subject matter itself in all areas. The effect of this revolution has been to obliterate the old line of distinction between those

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elements of the past that are history and those that are not. What used to be outside of history either as absolute, unchanging realities or as anonymous, uncrystallized, mass activities are now included in the historical past, and these are the areas that make up the new fields of history. The distinctive feature about these new fields is that they still require, for their understanding, canons of validity, methods of analysis, and techniques of research which look well beyond particular events and are alien to the traditional historian. Hence the rise of these new fields has brought an incursion of all the specialized branches of the knowledge of man into the historical context. With this incursion the distinction between the changing and the stable in the career of man no longer signifies a distinction between a historical and a nonhistorical reality; it signifies, rather, distinctive approaches to man within an expanded historical reality. And it raises the problem of the relationship between history, taken in this enlarged sense of the total past, and the historian, taken in the traditional sense of the describer of particular kinds of events within the past.

The revolution in the subject matter of history can be clarified if we break it down into the two stages of its development. The first stage consisted in the tendency to historize all aspects of man's life and activity. Progressively, various areas of human reality which had previously been deemed either above or beneath the vicissitudes of change were brought into the process of time and becoming. This tendency brought confusion into the field of history. On the one hand it confronted the historian proper with the intellectual necessity of explaining everything. On the other hand it confronted him with competitors in the field of history. For the older disciplines grew their own historical schools, and new disciplines—chiefly behavioral, such as sociology, anthropology, and political science—were founded precisely to develop the previously neglected areas of history. All these disciplines were substantive in a way that history was not. Each of them disposed over a definite kind of human activity, and when they projected these activities back into time their claims parceled out the various spheres of human life among them, to the exclusion of a historical discipline whose only dimension was time. Actually, of course, the claims were far from confirmed by actual possession of the field, and historians could develop their own brands of intellectual, economic, social, etc. history in the same areas. But what the line of demarcation should be was never clarified, and the relationship became chaotic between history as an integral discipline and history as a number of heterogeneous fields of life occupied by as many disciplines as there are generic activities of man.

This confusion was crystallized into the present form which the problem

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of history takes by the second stage in the revolution of knowledge. On top of the historization which broke all extratemporal laws and principles there has followed the tendency to find constant relations within and among limited segments of reality which exist in time. This may be seen as the attempt to found new points of stable and general validity in reaction against the historizing trend, and as such it is a process which reaches from the humanities to the social sciences. Thus the "contextual" approach in literature isolates poetry from the circumstances of its production and seeks immanent rules of criticism. In philosophy, phenomenology "brackets" the flow of existence away from objects and searches through rational analysis for the "transcendental" criteria with which to construct the essence of the objects, while logical positivism balances its critical rejection of all but empirical knowledge with the attempt at a constructive extension of the logic of the scientific method. The newer emphases in the behavioral sciences afford analogous illustrations of the tendency to make analysis subserve the building of valid general concepts. In psychology, "learning theory" is moving from simple conditioning to an analysis of the organism which mediates between the stimulus and the response, and therewith toward theories of value, motivation, and meaning. The cross-cultural approach in anthropology attempts to synthesize constant correlations out of its well-documented insights into cultural heterogeneity. In sociology, the statistical and sampling techniques which once undercut the generalizations of a less scientific age now begin to support a returning concern with the generic problems of social organization, mobility, and stratification. Even in political science, where the historical and descriptive attitudes have persisted longest, the surveying and functional approaches which have grown out of them are now turning to general theories of political behavior.

The hallmark of these tendencies is a revolution of method in which, through a process of aesthetic, symbolic, quantitative, or functional analysis, essential uniformities are abstracted out of a body of data and then cautiously projected into other data with similar qualities. But however much of a reaction against historicism, this method constitutes no rejection of history, taken in the large. The eschewing of universals, the accounting for the observer in each particular act of knowledge, and the intensive working of limited areas and problems with different kinds of logics and methods that are appropriate and in a sense internal to them—such aspects of the analytical approach are consonant with a historical framework. Particularly revealing of this consonance are the two devices, taken from mathematics, which have become the characteristic instruments of the new tendencies in logic and the social sci-

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ences—the theory of probability and the making of "models." The notion of probability permits generalizations which are not universal but which are applicable to definite broad classes of situations. A "model" is a symbolic or analogical representation which is intermediate between the statement of such a generalization and its specific application to an empirical situation; it shows how a theory operates in reference to a class of situations. The prevalent inclination to implement and at times even to replace theory with "models" is an indication of the tendency to accommodate rather than to subjugate the diversities of a historically conceived reality. Consequently, behavioral scientists have been developing, with the help of these concepts, such historically pertinent themes as the "theory of action" and the social application of "information theory," which analyzes communication into temporal sequences of events and establishes standards for measuring the relations between such events. Indeed, some of the behavioral sciences are beginning to move once more toward genuine historical themes from the vantage point of their new insights and techniques. Their contemporary interest in economic growth, social change and mobility, and the anthropology of history indicates the historical relevance of these disciplines. What they are doing, in essence, is interpreting historical change on the basis of the stable relationships which they have tried to establish by comparative method and structural analysis within the flow of history itself.

Now what are the implications of this revolution in the subject matter of history for the historian proper? The primary result has been to render inescapable the loss of his exclusive competence over the "facts" of the past. To be sure, certain kinds of past "facts" have long been surrendered to the more specialized analysis of philosophy, philology, aesthetic criticism, classical studies, archaeology, and paleography, but these could well be regarded as peripheral areas which could be divested without undue restriction of the professional historian. What is new is the added encroachment upon the residual areas by the claims of other technical disciplines to the point where the historian must reexamine his jurisdiction over past events as such. Since a historical "fact" usually proves to be a network of relations extending from the outer shell of its external appearance to the inner core of its meaning, such a "fact" may well be more critically ascertained and more certainly interpreted by the substantive discipline which specializes in the internal relations within the fact than by a historical discipline which specializes in the temporal relations between facts. For example, the "facts" about a piece of philosophy or art are indissoluble combinations of occurrences and meanings, and when such works are anonymous or undated the determination of

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the empirical events of authorship and timing often depend entirely upon the inner structure of meaning which is the province of the philosopher or the critic. Again, the "facts" of an economic situation, like the existence of an inflationary condition, frequently require a grasp of statistics and functional relationships, which are tools of the expert economist.

But even more important than this impact of specialization upon history is the necessity which is hereby imposed upon the historian to fit into the ebb and flow of the past canons which have a general kind of validity and techniques which bracket situations away from ebb and flow. Now the historian cannot avoid doing this, for these canons and these techniques are constituents of our notion of truth; they provide the frame for the truth we seek in the past as in the present. But it does raise the problem of precisely where and how the historian is to affix such molds upon his moving target.

The kind of intensive analysis which has been developed by the other disciplines provides means of doing the three things the unspecialized historian is ill-equipped to do. First, it opens the way to the understanding of the immanent, self-developing tendencies of a particular kind of activity against which the collateral conditions of a historical age must be set. In all kinds of intellectual history, to take the most obvious case, the explanation of any period must have as its prerequisite the knowledge of the technical problems, tendencies, and traditions of the philosophy, literature, art, or science concerned before it can distinguish between what occurs as an insulated response to such technical issues and what occurs as an open response to the more general influences of the era. Secondly, the analytical approach can be applied to the slow-moving, or even unmoving, structural aspects of an age, which are expressed in relationships rather than actions. For example, where the social structure is static throughout a period, this social background is probably rendered better by sociological methods of analyzing the constant relations among definite social types than by the traditional historical method of describing the significant activity of specific individuals and groups. Thirdly, the analytical approach provides the historian with an entering wedge into the difficult problem of freezing the moving process of history at a particular point in time so that he may grasp the total situation of men at that time.

Insofar as the historian works within the framework set up by such types of analysis he synthesizes the specialized disciplines for definite human situations at definite periods. This is an important function, because it calls forth the characteristic universality of the historian's interests, his compulsion to give particular life to general abstractions, and his capacity for avoiding

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anachronism by aligning the elements of a situation in their precise contemporaneity. Such works of synthesis are essential, but here we come to the crucial point that they are impossible for the historian unless he also adds something of his own. For the historian has no criteria for the selection or the organization of such a synthesis unless he takes them from his traditional approach to the world—unless, that is, his synthesis of a past situation is determined by the relevance of its relationships to concrete *movements* of men through time. The historian derives the hierarchy of meanings in an age—however analytically he may arrive at the definition of those meanings—from the specific sequence of actions which men undertook in that age. Given an optimum set of philosophical, aesthetic, political, sociological, and economic analyses of an era, the historian cannot apply them unless he first goes to the temporal march of events. Only then can he either measure the relative importance of each category in men's overt actions or understand that dimension of meaning which arises during the very process of growth. And so we are led back to the traditional field of history. What is distinctive about this?

Certainly the distinction can no longer be posed in terms of the old Germanic differentiation between the unique events which were the presumed objects of the humanistic disciplines, including history, and the repeatable classes of facts which were the presumed objects of the natural sciences. Beyond the obvious consideration that this differentiation leaves unresolved the relationship of history with the other humanities and particularly with philosophy, which transcends such a distinction, it now fails to meet the challenge created by the recent developments in science. The rise of the behavioral sciences between the humanistic and physical disciplines and the increasing attention which is being paid by sciences of all kinds to "the single case"—that is, the unique event—tend equally to frustrate this formulation. Since the humanities and the social sciences now often deal with the same events (e.g., the sociology of literature and the psychology of creativity), it cannot be said that events are unique or not unique but only that they are more or less unique according to the way in which they are handled. An event that is more unique for the historian than for the social scientist is less unique for the historian than for the art critic or for the biographer, whatever his guild. The historian does not so much treat of unique events as treat uniquely of events.

What distinguishes the historical from the other disciplines, humanistic and behavioral alike, is not the interest in different kinds of events but the different attitude toward the same kinds of events. For if the circumstance

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that a fact belongs to the past does not now suffice to bring it into the exclusive possession of the historian, it is clear that history differs from the other disciplines in having an approach and not an area of its own. The peculiarity of the historical approach vis-à-vis the humanities and the behavioral sciences is two-fold: the inimitable form which it gives to knowledge and its consuming interest in change.

The arts plumb particular productions, or events, and seek to make their particularity communicable by applying to or deriving from them general principles of composition and criticism. Philosophy and the behavioral sciences, in their respective ways, develop general categories and hypotheses and seek to validate them through application to particular events. Despite the fundamental differences between these fields, and despite the analogous conflicts within each of them on the roles to be played by the particular and general factors of knowledge, they hold in common an approach which confronts the particular fact with the general canon overtly and directly and which frankly orders events by means of general principle, whether this be mathematical, inductive, or organic in substance. The historian, on the other hand, treats neither of events nor of categories as such but rather of something in between which relativizes both. For the historian deals in time, and this means that he treats of events only in their chronological relations and of categories only in their temporal identifications. When viewed historically an event is less particular than it is in itself, and when used historically a principle is less general than it is in itself. The gap between fact and generalization is narrower for the historian than for other scholars because the time axis permits him to conceive of each in terms of the other. Where the scholarship of the humanities treats each of its events as an independent whole to be investigated in its essence, historical scholarship slices it into its chronological stages and treats it for its temporal dependencies. Where the scholarship of the behavioral sciences abstracts from events the uniform qualities which enable them to support general hypotheses projected beyond the events, historical scholarship frames its hypotheses not for why the events occurred but for why they occurred at this time, so that historical hypotheses cannot be projected beyond the connections of the events in a specific time series.

The historian, however, does not concern himself with every sequence of events through time but only with those sequences which either betoken a change from or produce a change in the previous pattern of activity, and this overriding preoccupation with change is the second distinguishing mark of the historical discipline. The notion of change, formerly only implicit in

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traditional history, has been raised to the status of an explicit primary principle for the historian by the shrinkage of his jurisdiction over events and by the historization of the constant substantive principles which provided the continuity behind and between them. An "event" for him now usually means an event that manifests change. Paradoxical as it may sound, change itself has come to supply the historian with his continuity; for insofar as there has been no change there is no past, and it is through change that the past is connected with the present. Change can fulfill such a function only if it is given a particular definition, since in its broadest sense every action denotes a change of some kind, and this is hardly a criterion for distinguishing among actions. The historian works rather with a special social definition which enables him to trace change as a thread of continuity through time. According to it, change consists in those human actions which refer beyond the time, place, and agency of their commission by realizing implicit developments within old situations or by creating new situations for the take-off of future actions. Excluded from change, by this definition, are both routine actions whose physical motion contributes nothing new to the relationships making up men's situations and maverick actions whose local novelty does not enter into these relationships. Included in change are all actions which register or produce mutations, rearrangements, or shifts of emphasis in the familiar elements of men's relationships and which yet retain sufficient meaning to the inhabitants of these relationships for such actions to leave a permanent deposit upon the conditions of men's living. Where actions that are mere functions of or aberrations from existing relationships are absorbed or dissipated in these relationships, actions that manifest or effect change transcend existing relationships, form new ones, and are immortalized therein. It is precisely this circulation of human actions through human relations that sets up the pulse beat of history, and change is its tracer.

It is true that humanists and behavioral scientists also concern themselves with change in this sense, but for them it is only one of a number of interests, taking its place beside the assessment of beauty or validity by a constant standard, whereas for the historian it constitutes the primary interest. Now this difference is not simply a matter of degree; it is the expression of fundamentally variant attitudes toward change. For one thing, obviously, both humanists and behavioral scientists, because of the limits of their particular disciplines, are apt to restrict themselves to changes within a particular field of human action, while the touchstone of historical change is that it has impact upon several fields of human action. Indeed, one of the great and distinctive contributions which historians make to the knowledge

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of human nature is their depiction of how changes on one level of man's interests—say, in his ideas—affect his actions on other levels—say, in his political and social activity.

Even more important than this consideration, however, is the historian's distinctive assumption about the fundamental role of change in human affairs, for it is this assumption that validates the historical study of change through time as an independent discipline. It is a commonplace that time has two dimensions. In one sense it is a regular sequence, reducible to quantitative measure, and in this reduced form it has been usable by science. In another sense, however, it is an irregular process, defined by the events which occur arbitrarily within it. In the latter sense, time becomes a primary, irreducible category, change becomes its measure, and the historian becomes its knower. The historian assumes that where men are static—and under this assumption they are static when considered in their constant postures, their repetitive activity, or their finished creations—they are generalizable and can be comprehended by the means which the behavioral sciences and the humanities have predicated for stable or recurrent objects and have applied to situations and completed events. But he assumes too that when men act to change their situation or to create something new, they move through specific, unpredictable, evanescent crystallizations of actions and reactions which can be served only by a discipline working under the sovereign aegis of time. For the humanities and the behavioral sciences alike, the essence of change consists in the fixed relationship between the termini of the change: for the humanities, men's actions are related to the beginning and end products of human creation; for the behavioral sciences, men's actions are converted into situations through the analysis of the stable factors in action, and the situations are then connected by laws or theories of change. The historian is interested neither in the end products of change nor in the laws of change but in the movement that works the change, in and for itself. This is why the historian is inevitably condemned to an indefinite, plural notion of change. The humanities orient themselves toward change as a new creation, to be understood in itself. The behavioral sciences orient themselves toward change as the specific working out of prior general tendencies. The historian must take the change as he finds it, and he must be prepared to deal equally with prepared and spontaneous innovation.

The absolutely distinctive element in the historian's operation consists precisely in this effort to describe and explain movements of men through time which are unanalyzable by any system of fixed methods and general hypotheses. Like other men, the historian fixes his points of reference within

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a development. This, however, is not for the purpose of analyzing the generally valid relationships between these points but rather for the purpose of projecting a vision of what happened between these points. His analysis of the points of reference is governed not by the desire to establish the total situation but by the necessity of establishing jumping-off and landing places for the flight of men's minds and deeds between them. The historian, then, deals with precisely those intangible motions of men which cannot be captured in stable concepts, for these are the motions by which men undertake actions of their own and receive those of others.

If there are no generally applicable, or "scientific," rules of method for such an elusive subject matter, what in the historian's *modus operandi*—apart from his techniques for discovering the mere occurrence of events—enables his work to have any cognitive validity at all? First, he surrounds the intangible as closely as possible through the depiction of intermediate, transitional, and peripheral events and situations. These are data which frequently are valueless to the other disciplines, when they are evanescent or when they simply mix capriciously what is pristine elsewhere. But they are crucial to the historian, since they betray the forms in which the relationships of an age affected men practically.

Secondly, the historian has developed a faculty for moving both backward and forward through time. If he moves forward in time together with his historical agents in order to recreate relative knowledge—that is, the conditions as these agents came to see and feel them—he also moves backward in time to his historical agents from the conclusion of their action in order to create absolute knowledge—that is, knowledge of the conditions which must have prevailed upon and within the agents unbeknownst to them. The subject matter of history may indeed be defined as any movement which has developed to a point of completion in time, for the historian requires such a point for his retrospection, and the advantage of retrospection is something that he cannot do without and remain a historian. It is the methodological necessity of moving in both directions along the time axis, and not mere antiquarian interest, that refers the historian to the past as his essential medium. To be sure, this is so flexible a method as to hardly warrant the name by any scientific standard, for the legitimate proportions of empathy and retrospection vary widely for every particular case, depending on the availability of the material and the commitments of the historian. The balance that is struck is a matter for decision in terms of art and conscience rather than of explicit rule. Yet this balance is essential to what the historian has of method in a way that it is not, for example, to the behavioral

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scientist. For where the scientist aims at constants or at constant relations among variables which can be projected into typical situations of the future, the historian can only play the possible against the actual for situations that were in fact actuated. From this point of view, Ranke's famous dictum to recreate the past as it really was takes on a new meaning that resolves some of the problems usually associated with it. For it does not mean that the historian must simply remove himself into the past and think in the terms of the men of the past but rather that he must describe and explain the past in the light of the larger knowledge of reality conferred by the future of that past and by our own greater experience of human conduct. By its very nature, history is not the mere memory of humanity but the reformation of its memory.

Now let us, in conclusion, bring together the desiderata of the historian. Two kinds of activity are equally necessary for him. He must educate himself in the new fields of history in order to keep abreast of the most advanced insights into the structure of human situations, and he must retain his feeling for the old field of history in order to explain the movement from one situation to another. If he neglects the first of these activities, the historian loses his body; if he surrenders the second, he loses his soul. Insofar as he does adopt the techniques and results of the specialized disciplines in fixing and analyzing past situations he becomes a hyphenated historian, and the hyphen may refer him to the humanities as well as to the behavioral sciences—that is, he may have to become a philosopher-historian as well as a sociologist-historian. Insofar as he works along the familiar lines of tracing the specific trajectory of movement between fixed situations he is a pure or autonomous historian.

This distinction is not intended as a classification of historians, for inevitably each historian performs both activities. It simply indicates that since the historian does perform two different kinds of functions he should be aware of when he is performing either of them and adapt his methods to it. If, for example, these notions are applied to the crucial historiographical issue which ranges the representative instance against the unique event as the appropriate mode of depicting a historical subject, then a possible solution would be to use both, assigning each to its proper place in the historical spectrum. The representative instance, together with whatever general categories or sampling techniques are required for its ascertainment, is appropriate to the description of situations. The succession of unique events, together with the traditional historical methods for ascertaining it, is appropriate to the portrayal of the process of change.

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But if both hyphenated and autonomous history are necessary, yet they cannot be merely juxtaposed. They must be integrated, and this integration cannot be on the basis of parity. The hyphenated activity must be integrated into the autonomous activity of the historian. The theories, criteria, and methods borrowed from disciplines which seek to transcend the limitations of time must become questions to be asked and not formulae to be applied by the historian to his period in time. This procedure avoids the necessity of omniscience, for the historian need follow the path of analysis only in the direction and in the depth required for his particular change. This procedure, moreover, gives him a criterion for selecting the elements in past situations, for his organization of the stabilized elements in these situations will be governed by their relevance to the changes which ensued or preceded.

In the final analysis, such an integration is hardly different in kind from what the historian has ever done. He has always worked from general concepts which he has found outside the field of history, and his peculiar function has been to identify particular men, events, and situations by means of these concepts and to follow their concrete interaction, conflict, frustration, and/or clarification in the due course of time. Where these concepts were formerly theological, philosophical, and ethical in species, we must now broaden them to include the categories of specialized scientific and aesthetic analysis and then proceed to our history as before, applying our methods, our insights, and our intuitions to the crucial gap between the stability of discrete general ideas and the moving complex of particular actions.

If this formulation has any validity, then the ultimate problems of history —the problems of value, of human nature, of the possibilities and methods of knowledge—get separated out from the daily labor of the historian. These are basic issues of the philosophy of history, but they are not historical issues alone. Since the arts treat preeminently of the values in truth and the sciences treat preeminently of the reality in truth, history—like philosophy—enters prominently into the field held in common with all the arts and sciences. The historian can indeed participate in the common discussion on the essences of the human situation, but at the same time he must treat the provisional resolutions of these problems as hypothetical assumptions and go on to his own independent work of testing them on the vagaries of humanity. In this way the historian will not only recount man's deeds but understand how man goes from his being to his doing and back again. From such a central furrow all the fields of history can be laid out in form and unity.

Yale University

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Reviews of Books

General

LES GRANDS COURANTS DE L'HISTOIRE UNIVERSELLE. By *Jacques Pirenne.* (Neuchatel: Éditions de la Baconnière. Seven volumes; 1944–1956. Pp. xix, 517; xxiv, 648; xxxix, 669; xviii, 482; xvii, 708; xiii, 795; xxxiv, 958. Paper 190 fr., cloth 240 fr. the set.)

JACQUES Pirenne is a son of the eminent Belgian historian Henri Pirenne, and he dedicates this twelve-year labor to his father's memory. He is a historian of distinction in his own right, author of a three-volume *Histoire des institutions et du droit privé de l'Ancienne Egypte, La civilisation sumérienne, La civilisation babylonienne,* and other studies on ancient and modern times.

The work under review is of such magnitude no detailed analysis is possible here. Primarily it is a comprehensive survey of *"la longue aventure humaine"* during the last five thousand years. In a secondary sense it is history written to substantiate a frankly proclaimed thesis. In Professor Pirenne's words:

> Ainsi apparaît-il qu'à travers les vicissitudes de l'histoire l'humanité est restée divisée en deux types essentiels de civilisation: les pays maritimes sont individualistes et libéraux, les pays continentaux sont "sociaux" et autoritaires, mais ces conceptions se manifestent, sur le plan politique, par des institutions nouvelles (VII, xxv).

Contracted to a sentence the hypothesis has an arbitrary and doctrinaire ring. Only by following the author's extended presentation can a reader appreciate the consistent but flexible skill with which he applies his formula and the insights he derives from its application.

That a single scholar should complete so extensive a project in little more than a decade compels admiration. These seven volumes total 4,941 pages and 320 chapters. There are 127 maps, 14 in color. Each volume includes a *table de matières* sufficiently explicit to constitute a brief synopsis. There are hundreds of explanatory footnotes, numerous cross references, and occasional mention of works consulted, but no index or bibliography. The text itself exceeds two million words. For purposes of comparison, it may be noted that it is half as long as the twenty-volume *Peuples et Civilisations* series edited by Halphen and Sagnac, but Pirenne devotes a larger proportion of his space to developments outside Europe and to recent times. His opening volume covers the long stretch from the earliest civilizations to the seventh century A.D., and the six succeeding volumes close at 1648, 1789, 1830, 1904, 1939, and 1955 respectively.*

* Titles are: Tome I, *Des origines à l'Islam;* Tome II, *De l'expansion musulmane aux traités de Westphalie;* Tome III, *Des traités de Westphalie à la Révolution française;* Tome IV, *De la Révolution française aux révolutions de 1830;* Tome V, *De 1830 à 1904;* Tome VI, *De 1905 à 1939;* Tome VII, *De 1939 à nos jours.*

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As an account of the rise and spread of civilization this is a systematic and comprehensive survey. For lack of records some developments in central Asia remain nebulous, and Africa south of the Sahara is scanted. A less understandable limitation, in a survey of universal history, is the disregard of American cultures of pre-Columbian times. The three pages allotted to the Spanish conquest of the Aztec and Inca realms dismiss *"ces grands empires"* in a few sentences, and *"les ruines de soixante villes dans le Yucatan"* are all attributed to the destruction wrought by the conquistadors. Presumably Pirenne regards the early American civilizations as outside *"les grands courants."* But even so they might have afforded an independent test of the distinctions he postulates between societies that preserved their *fixation au sol* and those that became *thalassocraties* or were otherwise leavened by commercialism.

His emphasis on the relation between culture and commerce leads him to reexamine some of the earlier suppositions of Old World history. He draws on recent archaeological research to support his views on the extent and importance of trade in neolithic times. He thinks it probable the Indus Valley civilization is the oldest known to us and that it stimulated Sumerian culture. By the age of Sargon I, however, the Babylonians apparently controlled the Persian Gulf. This leads Pirenne to speculate that Dravidians from the west coast of India may have utilized the alternate Red Sea route and helped to establish the Minoan and later the Phoenician thalassocracies that opened up the Mediterranean Sea. The theory appears farfetched, yet other scholars have speculated that the Indus Valley script influenced the Phoenician and Sabatean alphabets and have hazarded a Dravidian origin for the Zimbabwe ruins in Rhodesia—and even for the Easter Island hieroglyphics. The Indus Valley empire, like the Mauryan empire of the third and second centuries B.C. and the Indian maritime states a thousand years later, played a significant role in Asian economy. When disorders in eastern China disrupted internal caravan routes in the eighth century A.D. commercial traffic apparently shifted to southeast Asia, a diversion that helps to account for the splendor of the Khmer empire in the following centuries.

Pirenne's effort to clarify military, political, and religious vicissitudes by relating them more closely to commercial developments also leads him to reexamine European annals. Like his father he is disposed to regard the Moslem rupture of Mediterranean unity in the seventh century as the true opening of the European Middle Ages, and he feels that conventional views of European history underestimate the economic importance of the later Byzantine empire. He stresses the connection between *"l'apogée économique de l'Empire byzantin"* in the ninth and tenth centuries, the simultaneous prosperity of Kiev and Novgorod, and the maritime exploits of the Scandinavian peoples in these same centuries.

By the eleventh century Italian maritime strength was reviving, facilitating the crusades. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the recovery of Moslem power under the Ottoman Turks reversed these maritime gains, overwhelmed Byzantium, and then threatened southeastern Europe. The western Europeans, denied

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their former trade contacts with Asia, reacted with the audacious voyages of discovery that opened the oceans and the New World to their enterprise. The sixteenth to the twentieth centuries brought a contest for global empires among the sea-oriented European states and an internal conflict in Europe between the increasingly liberal spirit of these thalassocracies and the feudal and conservative spirit of the land-bound interior. Liberalism reached it apogee in the nineteenth century; by the middle of the twentieth the world was divided between a continental hegemony (authoritarian) and a maritime hegemony (liberal).

Pirenne has produced a bold and persuasive *"essai de synthèse"* of which it may be said, as Beard said of Spengler's epic, that it attempts to grasp the hem of destiny. Whether it does more to clarify or to warp our understanding of the past is already a matter of international debate, for in addition to the French version the work is appearing in an English, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and (abridged) German translation. His challenging task completed, Pirenne takes his place in that august company of systematizers who have sought a pattern in the past. Less fatalistic than Spengler, less mystical than Toynbee, less sociological than Sorokin, less cautious than Kroeber, he offers an interpretation with obvious attractions. Its chronology is orderly, its structure firm, its style lucid and uncluttered with esoteric terms. The central thesis is disarmingly simple, and the conclusion to which it leads—that liberalism and individualism are concomitants of a preferable and superior type of civilization—has consoling implications for the western world.

Ithaca, New York GEOFFREY BRUUN

THE DYNAMICS OF WORLD HISTORY. By *Christopher Dawson*. Edited by *John J. Mulloy*. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1956. Pp. xiv, 489. $6.00.)

CHRISTOPHER Dawson is, perhaps, the most thoughtful, stimulating, and suggestive historian of the Catholic faith who in this century has devoted himself to the general history of civilization. He is more down to earth and convincing than Spengler or Toynbee. He is also more modest, for he tells us that "the history of a single civilization seems to be the most that we can hope to achieve." Those historians who have known of Dawson only through his brilliant volume on *The Making of Europe* will be surprised, whether pleasantly or not, when they read the book under review. It reveals Dawson as a writer so well versed in anthropology, sociology, psychology, and the basic ideas which have dominated historical perspectives over the ages that he almost measures up to the pattern of the ideal historian recommended by James Harvey Robinson in his *The New History*.

The Dynamics of World History is an anthology—not an abridgement—of Dawson's writings on the history of civilization, selected by a learned and discriminating admirer, John J. Mulloy, who adds a supplement of more than fifty pages summarizing and interpreting Dawson's ideas. Mulloy seems determined that no reader miss, distort, or undervalue any of Dawson's achievements or con-

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victions. The volume contains more articles, lectures, and essays than excerpts from his chief books, although there are some of the latter. It therefore not only gives a new and less well-known impression of Dawson as a historian but also presents material which will be fresh to all save those who have been close followers of his writings in the past.

In his approach to the history of civilization, Dawson adopts what he calls a sociological frame of reference. The fields and issues which most concern him are the relations between primitive and so-called historic cultures, the contact of cultures and the resulting cross-fertilization, the dynamic or causative factors in the development of human culture, the main theories of cultural evolution and world history presented during the Christian era, and comparative religion, with special emphasis on the influence of religion on the course of human development and its interpretations.

The book has two main parts: a broad sociological approach to the chief factors, stages, and problems in the history of civilization, stressing the importance of urban civilization in our day, which reflects the influence of Patrick Geddes and Victor Branford; and a discussion of the great conceptions or panoramas of world history set forth from Augustine's *City of God* to Toynbee's *A Study of History*. Dawson's appraisal of these interpretations of the nature and meaning of world history is astute, judicious, and informing. He attributes emergence of the conception of world history, with an impressive future lying ahead, to the influence of Judaism and Christianity, which, he claims, really launched the sociological approach to history. The philosophical interpretation of history by the classical thinkers and historians produced a provincial and restricted outlook on human development and a belief in recurring cycles rather than a dynamic conception of progress.

Perfectionists will find some things to complain about. They may hold that, although Dawson assumes to adopt a sociological interpretation of history, theology takes over in the ultimate showdown; that his conception of sociology is rather archaic and also highly selective, in that he chooses particular sociologists and even those views which clash the least with Catholic dogma; and that, although he criticizes the philosophical approach to history, he really approves it in his theory of "metahistory." Nevertheless, not even the most militant Protestant or skeptical historian, if he is fair and honest, can read this book without being impressed by Dawson's learning, comprehension, and perspective or stimulated by his remarkable ability to go to the heart of an issue, to state his points and conclusions with great cogency and brilliant precision. Those who differ with him about basic ideology will profit by seeking to observe or emulate the same degree of mellowness, urbanity, and tolerance which permeates Dawson's writings.

In the concluding chapter, Dawson makes clear that the long era during which Europe has dominated the course of human civilization has now come to an end, and he draws some sagacious conclusions as to the import of this for the

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human future. This is a book which no thoughtful historian can safely ignore, and it is as timely as it is illuminating.

Malibu, California HARRY ELMER BARNES

AGAINST THE TYRANT: THE TRADITION AND THEORY OF TYRANNICIDE. By *Oscar Jászi* and *John D. Lewis*. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 288. $5.00.)

THE authors of this excellent book have undertaken what is sometimes called a "thread" study. They trace in formal Western political thought, from the ancient Greeks to the present, the thread of attack on and defense of tyrannicide. Since this is an important thread, tracing it skillfully, as these authors do, is more than an interesting subject in itself. The tracing can help us to understand the complex related patterns of the whole fabric of our intellectual history.

Professor Lewis, who carries the analysis from the beginnings to the seventeenth century, has the easier task. His materials are less scattered and less abundant than those with which his colleague deals; more important, he deals with thinkers who, whatever their differences, see the problem of tyrannicide in an ethical setting as yet on the whole uninfluenced by all that the growth of modern natural science brought with it as a world view. In a hundred pages, which include an admirable summary chapter, he provides a clear account of how men thought and felt about tyrannicide. His central point is that the defense of tyrannicide in these years rested not on any form of "individualism" or belief in private judgment but on a belief in an ascertainable community truth based on a moral law to which the tyrant was false and the killer, in his very deed, true.

Professor Jászi, who takes over with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has a harder task. Men's feelings about the relation of a "right" political and moral order to the universe changed as the new natural science led to the concept of the "Newtonian world-machine." The doctrine of tyrannicide became confused with the facts of political murder and otherwise distorted by the rise of conflicting efforts to achieve through planning or anarchy a better social system. Tyranny came, indeed, to seem not the wickedness of any one or a few individual tyrants but the failure of a "system" to function well. All this Jászi handles with great skill. As he nears his final chapters, a note he never attempts to suppress becomes louder, until at last he is frankly engaged in a tract for the times, an effort to find remedies for our present ills. He finds one remedy in tyrannicide, which he seeks to rescue from the disrepute—or worse, disregard—into which he claims Victorian optimism and Victorian respectability had left it.

This harder task, too, he has done well. Though the crude separation between the historian as objective analyst and recorder and the historian as subjective judge and moralist is going out of fashion—this book is in itself one of many indications of such a tendency in our time—it is perhaps still permissible to distinguish between the historian explaining and the historian judging, evaluating,

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moralizing. As explanation, this book is first-rate. It assembles under one cover, and in clear, succinct form, very important parts of our cultural inheritance—not "mere" facts, but facts as men have transmuted them in thought and emotion. This is one of the most timely and suggestive studies in political thought to appear in recent years. A reviewer whose own experience of tyranny has been, in contrast with Jászi's real and intimate one, purely vicarious, must nonetheless report that to him this book, as evaluation, seems at times to be throwing the baby out with the bath. Granted at once that the portentous phrase, "scientific objectivity" cannot be for us what it was to our grandfathers, still the constant association of this phrase, as in this book, with such nowadays pejorative terms as "relativism," "skepticism," "cynicism," "amorality," and—worst of all—"scientism," seems unfair—and perhaps not even morally necessary. "Back to Acton," if you like; but surely this slogan need not imply a further one, "Los von Ranke"?

It is not, indeed, that either Lewis or Jászi ever violates the high scholarly standards of honesty and accuracy, of what still resounds well from that blessed word "objectivity." They too want to know how it *really* happened. They merely question the basic metaphysics (or epistemology) on which we were almost all brought up, an epistemology deeply imprinted, to put it mildly, with "relativism." The really tough problem we historians now face is: how much relativism can we afford to throw out without losing what Ranke's unforgettable phrase symbolizes for us?

Candor—or perhaps mere impishness—impels this reviewer to a final confession. His basic disagreement with Jászi may lie deeply buried in his unconscious, in a superego more influenced than he knows by earliest training in the Mosaic law. After all, the noblest tyrannicide is a clear violation of the sixth commandment. Who now is the relativist?

Harvard University CRANE BRINTON

THEORY AND REALITY IN PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW. By *Charles De Visscher*. Translated from the French by *P. E. Corbett*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the Center of International Studies, Princeton University. 1957. Pp. xvi, 381. $5.00.)

INTERNATIONAL lawyers immediately recognized the outstanding importance of this book by a former president of the International Court of Justice when it appeared in French in 1953. American members of the guild will, therefore, appreciate the excellent English translation now presented by Professor Percy Corbett.

Judge De Visscher appreciates the danger to international law, and indeed to the stability of civilization itself, if the rules and principles which states have formally accepted to govern their relations differ markedly from the actual practice of governments. The broad principles concerning abstention from the threat or use of force in international relations, pacific settlement of disputes, self-determi-

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nation of peoples, and respect for human rights, expressed in the United Nations Charter and other instruments, have been frequently violated. This gap between commitment and action might be reduced by developing international organization and the public opinion which supports it, so that professed rules will be better observed, or it might be reduced by qualifying the interpretation of accepted rules and principles so as to make them conform more closely to national policies and practices. De Visscher places himself, with Julius Stone and Percy Corbett, among the "juristic realists" in urging attention to the second method. He does not go as far as the "political realists" or "neo-Machiavellians" who would give such a free play to international politics that legal principles would almost disappear as guides to the conduct of international relations. De Visscher appreciates the realities of international politics arising from the coexistence of sovereign states inspired by sentiments of nationality and urges that these realities be given weight in the statement and application of international law so that the "dangerous gap" between "precept and practice" will be reduced. The principle that rights do not arise from wrongs should be qualified by the principle that persistent facts make law. Furthermore, freedom is essential for progress. The law must give room for the play of international politics by giving attention to all its sources in applying it to particular cases. De Visscher considers the principles stated in the United Nations Charter basically sound. War must be eliminated if civilization is to survive under present conditions, and for some time "peace will serve justice better than justice will serve peace." The international protection of human rights and national self-determination must be approached with caution.

The book is the product of a lifetime of thought and practice devoted to the problem of adjusting international law to the world that has emerged during the last fifty years, with new weapons, new ideologies, and new problems. Its lesson is gradualness in the development and suppleness in the interpretation of international law. Above all, it stresses the need for detailed study of both the facts of the situation and the sources of international law in the judicial search for solution of a particular controversy. The book deserves close reading, not only by international lawyers but also by humanists, internationalists, and politicians.

New York, New York QUINCY WRIGHT

FRANKLIN AND NEWTON: AN INQUIRY INTO SPECULATIVE NEWTONIAN EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE AND FRANKLIN'S WORK IN ELECTRICITY AS AN EXAMPLE THEREOF. By *I. Bernard Cohen.* [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, Volume 43.] (Philadephia: the Society. 1956. Pp. xxvi, 657. $6.00.)

ONE sometimes gathers the impression that the history of ideas is no longer regarded as altogether respectable. "Disembodied" is the qualification likely to be attached by historians who seem willing to abandon the field to students of

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literature and philosophy. Like most reactions, this is no doubt a wholesome one that may go too far. One service that a developing historiography of science could render to general historical understanding would be to restore intellectual history to good repute, for the historian of science deals with ideas about which it is possible to be definite.

No one will wish to accuse Professor Cohen's monograph of lacking body, and the only danger is that the reader unacquainted with scientific history may, in the very fullness of the treatment, lose sight of its highly original thesis. Newton's great work was the *Principia,* which united knowledge of heaven and earth in a mathematical physics and established the system of the world on the law of universal gravity. But such was the magnitude of this achievement that, paradoxically, it could have little influence on the daily work of science. Not much could be done with it except to perfect and modernize the mathematics. Developing a formal treatment, then, was one Newtonian tradition, which culminated in the analytical formulation of mechanics by Lagrange and of celestial mechanics by Laplace. But Cohen's contention is that the influence of Newton on the actual science of the Enlightenment was exerted through the other, the less abstract and far more appealing, aspect of his work, of which he wrote in the *Optics.* This book demands of the reader not mathematics, but only interest in physical nature and in experiment. It is charmingly written. It closes with the famous *Queries,* those extraordinary, prescient, and often moving speculations on the structure of nature, which Newton left as his legacy of unsolved problems. Nor was Newton so successful in his theories of light and matter (for the scope of the *Optics* is wider than the title) that he closed the way to followers who would apply themselves to chemistry, heat, magnetism, and electricity.

The attempt to bring these subjects within the compass of Newtonian principles made experimental sciences of them in the eighteenth century. Every science may be said to have had an orderer—Galileo for mechanics, Lavoisier for chemistry, Darwin for biology—who first framed objective concepts widely enough to comprehend the whole range of the subject and who thereby made sense of it. It is this very high place which Cohen claims for Benjamin Franklin in the science of electricity. Franklin had no mathematics, but he had deep physical intuition and common sense. In the one-fluid theory and its basic assumptions of conservation of charge and corpuscular texture—assumptions which themselves argue serious scientific wisdom in their author—Franklin made a science out of the random electrical information that he inherited (and to which his experimental genius also made important additions).

In calling his book a "monograph" Professor Cohen errs on the side of modesty, for what he has written is a rich and discursive history of experimental physical science from the close of the scientific revolution through the Enlightenment. The book contains essays on Newton's and Franklin's personality and psychology, an intermittent discussion, through numerous examples, of the relation of experiment to theory, asides on the scientific method, and very full accounts

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of the books and men through whom Newton's ideas were transmitted. With all this, Cohen gives us one of the fullest works to have been written in the history of science. Quite apart from the central thesis, the historical reader who wishes to know what the physical science of the Enlightenment actually was could not turn to a better source.

As sometimes happens in the case of books with a thesis, I find myself somewhat less impressed by the argument than by the book itself. I do not quite feel the force of the connection Cohen urges between Newton and Franklin. Of course, any serious scientist who came after Newton was a "Newtonian scientist." But whether Franklin's debt to Newton amounted to anything more cogent than this does not seem to me to be established, indeed it may be lost, in the all-embracing scope of the treatment. As Cohen recognizes, positing an imponderable fluid—like electricity—as the physical carrier of otherwise inexplicable effects was a very common device. But it was resorted to not only by Newtonian scientists such as Franklin and Lavoisier but also by many, such as Lamarck and Marat, who belonged to the tradition of anti-Newtonian science, or one might better say, speculative anti-science. A further objection to the theory of a "Newtonian experimental science" suggests itself when Cohen refers as an example to Lavoisier's work in chemistry. We have recently been taught by Maurice Daumas in his book *Lavoisier, Théoricien et Expérimentateur* (Paris, 1955) that Lavoisier owed his inspiration to the analytical, mathematical science of Laplace and Lagrange and not to the laboratory chemists. But since we owe a good book to the coupling of Franklin and Newton, it would be ungrateful to cavil at the theory beyond suggesting that it is rather more tendentious than the positive contents of this rewarding volume, among which is a notable innovation—an economical and remarkably workable technique for arranging and citing an enormous bibliography.

Princeton University CHARLES C. GILLISPIE

COMMON FRONTIERS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. Edited by *Mirra Komarovsky*. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press and Falcon's Wing Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 439. $6.00.)

WRITING on the need for cooperation between the social sciences and history is often criticized for too much exhortation and not enough demonstration. Here is a book with three long essays, totaling over two hundred pages, which apply social science methods to specific historical research, and a series of interesting and incisive controversies over new ideas and techniques. In spite of its apparent concentration on a few issues, the book serves as a solid, stimulating exposition of the character of interdisciplinary problems.

In her introductory chapter, Professor Komarovsky discusses patterns of "fruitful interdisciplinary cooperation," such as collecting and illuminating data in one field by the concepts of another, using the hypotheses of one discipline to open new problems and stimulate research in another, and the combining of two theo-

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retical frameworks for research on a common problem. Both her clear discussion and the material in the book challenge the implications of the metaphor selected as a title. The various social sciences seem to have most in common in their cores of well-established concepts rather than along the frontiers, which tend to be areas of more specialized advance. None of the historical essays, written by Lee Benson, Marjorie Fiske, Leo Lowenthal, and Russell E. Planck, employ any complicated or new theoretical apparatus in showing the value of precise, explicit analysis with proper regard for the time element. Benson and Planck, particularly, emphasize how the multiplicity of factors operating in historical situations tempts writers to seek refuge in vague metaphors rather than face the difficulties of specific, logically coherent statements.

The latter part of the book is organized as a series of debates regarding the utility of certain methods or concepts. The first debate, on the historical use of opinion polls, is introduced by Planck's analysis of the work of the *Institute Française de Opinion Publique* from 1944 to 1949. Paul F. Lazarsfeld argues the case for the potentialities of polling, Joseph R. Strayer raises questions regarding the utility of opinion polls, and Henry David takes a more favorable position and suggests additional uses for this technique. The reader who has found answers in Planck's research to some of the issues raised in the debate will be bothered by the fact that the other historians do not seem to have studied his paper before going to press.

The two debates on plant sociology and Keynsian economics, in which eight economists, psychologists, and sociologists take part, do not suffer from this weakness. Here the argument is lively and well focused. In order to make their points, the protagonists bring wide ranges of social psychology and economics to bear on issues central to both the social sciences and the interpretation of history.

The final essay, with the rather forbidding title of "Reference Group Theory and Trade Union Wage Policy," by Seymour M. Lipset and Martin Trow, is a specialized discussion of the institutional and status relationships that enter into all human behavior. The book ends with a valuable collection of footnotes, but no index.

University of Pennsylvania THOMAS C. COCHRAN

COLONIAL POLICY AND PRACTICE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BURMA AND NETHERLANDS INDIA. By *J. S. Furnivall.* (New York: New York University Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 568. $7.50.)

SCHOLARS dealing with southern Asia or with colonial affairs will welcome this reprinting of Mr. Furnivall's brilliant study, which has been virtually unobtainable for several years. First published in 1948, it bids fair to be one of those timeless contributions that is as valuable today as it was when it first appeared. Furnivall was associated with the government of Burma when the book was written and combined long personal experience with mature scholarly reflection in

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writing it. Although the book was written in response to a request by the Burma administration for its author's views on problems of reconstruction, there is remarkably little of the flavor of a government report, and the depth of understanding exhibited is only too rare in administrative circles.

Furnivall's point of departure is a critical analysis of the differences between British rule in Burma and Dutch rule in the Netherlands Indies, with the practical objective of discerning those features of Dutch administration that might be adapted, fruitfully, in the Burma scene. Thus, several chapters are devoted to an account in depth of the working of European control in Burma, and these are followed by a long but incisive chapter on Dutch rule. The author then turns to matters of colonial policy, exhibiting an accomplished analytical understanding of the interrelationships between policy and its effects when implemented in the field. The next portion of the book is devoted to matters of colonial welfare, with emphasis on the instruments of welfare, social and economic services, health and education, the interrelationships of different kinds of education and the progress of indigenous society, and the problems of welfare and autonomy. Fortunately, none of this is done in the superficial fashion that can so easily mar a survey. The volume includes tables of statistical data and an excellent, though brief, list of references to titles not already cited in full in the course of the presentation.

A chapter on the problems of reintegration of indigenous society is by itself full justification for reprinting the volume. One can think of few examples in the entire field of colonial studies that measure up to this presentation. In fact, one can think of but a few individuals who have even been moved to pose the problem so eloquently or so adequately. Anyone who is interested in basic issues of social change under the impact of alien control is well advised to read this portion of Furnivall before proceeding with the subject.

A great deal of the extant literature on colonial situations either is polemical or falls far short of adequate analysis. When straw men are not being vanquished —from one point of view or another—apologetics or glorified travelogues are often the product. Seldom does such literature deal with basic issues arising out of the nature of contact between widely different cultures. But it is precisely in this respect that Furnivall's volume shines so luminously. He has, with the best kind of detachment, risen above factional considerations to study the issues, and from the issues he has extracted an analysis of colonial policy and social change that is probably unexcelled.

University of Michigan ROBERT I. CRANE

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Ancient and Medieval History

LA SCIENCE ANTIQUE ET MÉDIÉVALE (DES ORIGINES À 1450). By *R. Arnaldez, et al.* Publiée sous la direction de *René Taton.* [Histoire Générale des Sciences, Tome I.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. viii, 627.)

THIS stout, solid, and substantial volume, of over six hundred pages with forty-one lines of text per page, interspersed with forty-eight handsome, full-page plates and forty-three other figures and tables, appears as the first of what is to be a work in three volumes, motivated by the conviction that hitherto "aucune tentative sérieuse n'avait été faite . . . pour brosser un tableau d'ensemble de l'évolution des *différentes sciences et techniques.*" It is the cooperative labor of twenty-one scholars and covers prehistoric times, ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Israel, India and China; Hellenic, Hellenistic, and Roman science; science of America before Columbus, of the medieval Arabic world, India and China; and Byzantine, Hebraic, and western Christian medieval science.

This division of the seamless robe of science and the continuity of human thought among so many collaborators and sections has its disadvantages. For example, the account on pages 410–11 of "Les derniers témoins de la science antique" is virtually repeated on page 519 as "Les fondateurs" of early medieval science. When the writer on ancient Mesopotamia tells us that "l'étude proposée dans les pages suivantes est presque exclusivement fondée sur les renseignements que nous fournissent les documents séleucides," we wonder whether this discussion should not have been placed with Hellenistic science. Sometimes the same collaborators repeat themselves, as when Alkindi is thrice called a great philosopher, although no particular reason is given for so regarding him and nothing is said of his magic and astrology.

On the whole, however, the role of magic, in the broad sense of that word, in the history of science is perhaps sufficiently recognized. In Mesopotamia liver divination became "une véritable science. . . . Son traité canonique ne devait pas compter moins de 10,000 observations. . . . Elle est de plus en plus l'affaire des spécialistes . . . elle est sans cesse contrôlée par l'expérience" (pp. 83–85). Nevertheless, one could wish that the collaborators had agreed in advance as to how they would use such words as magic and astrology. Does magic consist chiefly of incantations or does it include natural magic, the use of amulets and philters, and the employment of occult virtues in plants, stones, and animals? Is astrology discussed in the narrow sense of casting human horoscopes or as the rule of the superior celestial spheres over the inferior world of terrestrial nature? Sometimes such terms are employed in their broader connotation; elsewhere, in a very narrow and misleading sense. Thus, immediately after the assertion that "Il ne semble pas, en effet, qu'avant l'invasion grecque, les habitants de la vallée du Nil aient jamais cru en l'astrologie," it is added: "Tous les documents astronomiques qui nous

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sont parvenus n'ont qu'un seul but: déterminer une heure . . ." (p. 48). Such determination of favorable times is the doctrine of elections, which, along with interrogations, revolutions, and nativities, became one of the four chief departments of astrology, even in a narrow sense of that word. Four pages later we read: "Les médecins se plaisaient à souligner la valeur de certains remèdes auxquels ils attribuaient une origine céleste."

Although there is this tendency to minimize the prevalence of *magie* and *astrologie* in ancient and Arabic science, our authors are commendably restrained in asserting positive scientific achievement.

Il a fallu le labeur des trois générations d'érudits pour nous faire reconnâitre que les mathématiques et l'astronomie n'ont joué qu'un rôle négligeable dans le développement de la civilisation égyptienne (p. 20).

Some fault may be found with the distribution of space among different periods and subjects. Especially to be regretted is the brief, though favorable, treatment allotted to Western medieval science. Twenty-one pages are devoted to Egyptian and forty-eight to Greek medicine, but Western medieval medicine gets only four: a whole section by a competent specialist should have been devoted to it. Whereas such matters as the rudimentary arithmetic of ancient Egypt are painstakingly explained in detail, celebrities such as Peter of Abano receive only a single, incidental mention. The treatment of botany breaks off with Albertus Magnus, two centuries before the closing date for the volume, and his important contemporary, Rufinus, is passed over in silence.

A few mistakes should be pointed out. Al-Razi is called "le Rhazes des Latins," but the medieval Latin manuscripts almost invariably spell it Rasis. The birth of Adelard of Bath is placed "vers 1170"—perhaps this is a misprint for 1070. The old legend is repeated that Jews played an important part in starting the school of medicine at Montpellier, although Wickersheimer thirty years since, in *Janus* 31 (1927), 465–73, pointed out that in the numerous documents of that university from its foundation in 1220 neither a Jew nor a Saracen is ever mentioned. The Alfonsine Tables were not promulgated in 1252 but twenty years later. The medicine of Montpellier was not more rational than that of Bologna. The *Thesaurus pauperum* of Petrus Hispanus is not an encyclopedia. It is stated that "nombreuses compilations alchimiques" were attributed to Vincent of Beauvais; I know of only one. The contrast drawn between the encyclopedias of Bartholomew of England and Thomas of Cantimpré is unjustifiable, and the words "l'incroyable diffusion de la médiocre *Sphère* de Sacrobosco" are a slur upon both that masterly exposition of elementary astronomy and the good judgment of several centuries.

The bibliographies at the close of the chapters sometimes leave something to be desired. For Mesopotamia, I miss Langdon and Fotheringham's edition of the very early Venus tablets. Haskins' *Mediaeval Science* is not included, although it seems obviously the source, perhaps indirectly, of what is said concerning Walcher of Malvern and Pedro Alfonso. Beazley's *Dawn of Modern Geography* is not listed among the books "sur la Cartographie."

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The literary style is not exactly dull; neither is it very lively. Usually it is clear and straightforward, and the paragraph headings, banned by American publishers, help further in orienting the reader. There seems to be a certain uniformity of style throughout. Can it be that an editress of the Presses Universitaires has manicured the different hands? Congratulations are in order for this enterprising production in the French language of a general history of science; but the English-speaking reader may still rest content with Neubebauer's *Exact Sciences in Antiquity* and Clagett's *Greek Science in Antiquity* for as much of the ground as they cover.

Columbia University LYNN THORNDIKE

A HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY. Volume II, THE MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS AND THE MIDDLE AGES, *C.* 700 B.C. TO *C.* A.D. 1500. Edited by *Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall,* and *Trevor I. Williams.* Assisted by *E. Jaffé, Nan Clow,* and *R. H. G. Thomson.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. lix, 802, 44 plates. $26.90, £8 8*s*).

LIKE its predecessor, this second volume of *A History of Technology* under publication at Oxford is useful, informative, handsome, and—so far as a single individual can judge—accurate. Its range is enormous, both as to time and to subject. A wide variety of technological developments dating from about 700 B.C. to about 1500 A.D. and taking place in the Mediterranean and European area is treated in a series of articles by specialists. The articles are grouped in five large classes: primary production, manufacture, material civilization, transport, practical mechanics and chemistry. Classes cover such diverse topics as mining and quarrying, metallurgy, food and drink, spinning and weaving, furniture, ceramics, glass, industrial chemistry, building construction, roads, vehicles, shipbuilding, power, hydraulic engineering, military technology, and alchemical equipment.

There are, of course, limitations to this kind of cooperative effort. It tends to become fragmentary and needs complementary chapters to draw the material together and to relate it to other historical movements. The editors realize this, but they think that to some extent the broader and more fundamental implications of technological development are only dimly recognizable at this time. As Charles Singer puts it in his stimulating epilogue:

> . . . the work now before the reader has been put together in a spirit that takes none of these views. It seeks to present what seems to the authors and editors the salient facts arranged in the best sequence that they have been able to devise, and with that very high degree of condensation of a vast mass of material that is demanded even by these portly volumes. When their task is complete there may emerge a clearer interrelationship of the techniques to each other and to the cultures in which they have arisen.

In the absence of a more general historical analysis, the volume includes two pieces: a very brief introduction by A. R. Hall of Cambridge University, which sketches the historical framework, and a longer epilogue by Charles Singer comparing developments in the East and in the West. The general reader will find both essays of interest. Dr. Hall's sketch is complemented by three chronological

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tables: 1400–1 B.C.; A Chronological Survey of Roman Imperial History, 31 B.C.–A.D. 476; and A.D. 200–1500. Included within Dr. Singer's essay is a chart of the "Transmission of Certain Techniques from China to the West," compiled by Joseph Needham. No one can gainsay the usefulness of this chart; the reader is warned, however, that the simplification involved in its tabular form renders precision and definiteness to the answers for a number of questions of mutual influence where the evidence is imprecise.

In this day of the intimate juncture of science and technology it is natural to ask why there is little attempt in this volume to discuss the possible ties between science and technology in the periods covered. The answer to this question is evident, for it should be realized that during these periods there was very little interpenetration between these two areas of human activity, except perhaps in some of the Greek mechanical treatises where we find important theoretical concepts side by side with the technical description of machines.

As a historian of science, I was particularly interested in the two articles that touched on chemistry. The one on "Alchemical Equipment" by E. J. Holmyard belongs more to the history of science than it does to the history of technology. It is a compact and careful survey. But against the researches of Ruska, Holmyard still holds for the production of Arabic alchemical treatises as early as 700 A.D. Furthermore, while he can hardly controvert the magnificant research of Kraus, which has shown that the enormous corpus of alchemical works attributed to Jābir ibn Hayyan dates not from the eighth century but rather follows the great period of translations from the Greek and thus must be placed in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, Holmyard still holds to the view of the earlier preparation of the corpus by saying that the extant treatises "are probably in great part later recensions and expansions of his original texts."

The second article of interest to the historian of science is a splendid survey by the late F. Sherwood Taylor of prescientific industrial chemistry. It stresses the information to be found in a continuously growing number of technological documents. He points to the extraordinary number of such treatises in the late medieval period. "The great European libraries contain many thousands of manuscript collections of recipes dating from about 1200 to 1500." In view of this rich source of untapped material, it is hoped that students of medieval technology will turn in increasing numbers to this manuscript material and provide us with the critical texts necessary for the proper evaluation of the transitions from medieval to modern technology.

The reader will be surprised at first view by the omission in this volume of any discussion of measuring instruments (for example, clocks), for such instruments were important for the development of both science and technology. The editors are well aware of the importance of this subject, but they have deliberately left such a discussion to the next volume because of the increasingly intimate relations between instruments and the development of early modern science. One assumes that the authors of any such article or articles will review the early history of the instruments under discussion.

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As in the case of the first volume, this volume is handsomely illustrated. It has 695 pertinent line drawings and 44 plates. One defect is that the precise source of the illustrations is seldom given. At times one is not sure whether the drawing is a reconstruction or a copy from some contemporary source. Three indexes, of personal names, place names, and subjects, complete the volume.

It is evident that this fine work will long remain a standard reference book, particularly for the nonspecialist (and almost every historian is a nonspecialist in some of the areas covered here). Its range and the competence of its contributions are certain insurance of its longevity.

University of Wisconsin MARSHALL CLAGETT

LA COLONISATION GRECQUE DE L'ITALIE MÉRIDIONALE ET DE LA SICILE DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ: L'HISTOIRE ET LA LÉGENDE. By *Jean Bérard*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Paris.] (2d ed.; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. xii, 522. 1,800 fr.)

THE first edition of this study was published in 1941. Since that time, archaeological investigation in southern Italy and in Sicily has contributed much to our knowledge of the colonization of these areas and their earlier history, and historical scholarship has not been idle. Bérard, as he notes in his preface to this second edition, has been aided especially by T. J. Dunbabin's *The Western Greeks,* a notable work, and by the continuation of F. Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Here and there throughout the present volume, acknowledgement—sometimes little more—is made of other studies. Yet the difference between the two editions is not significant, except in chapters vii and xii, which have been for the most part rewritten.

The book is in two parts: *la tradition historique* and *la tradition légendaire*. This division illustrates Bérard's method of attack, for he is interested as much in the legend of early Greek settlement in the West as in the well-known period of colonization. The first part comprises seven chapters: "Cumes et la colonisation grecque de la Campanie," "La colonisation chalcidienne de la Sicile orientale et de Rhègion," "La colonisation dorienne de la Sicile orientale: Mégara et Syracuse," "La colonisation péloponnésienne sur le golfe de Tarente," "Siris, Locres et Posidonia," "Géla et la colonisation de la Sicile occidentale, Elée et les dernières fondations," "Données archéologiques et données de la tradition." Similarly, the nature of the second part is illustrated by the chapter titles: "La légende d'Ulysse dans les mers italiennes," "Les Nostoi et la colonisation légendaire à l'époque de la Guerre de Troie," "L'expédition des Argonautes, les travaux d'Héraclès et la geste de Minos," "Traditions relatives aux plus anciennes populations de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile," "Les données de l'archéologie préhistorique: légende et histoire." The introduction reviews the available evidence. Six maps keep the reader well oriented. The *Index analytique sommaire* is not complete.

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Bérard's belief is that the legends of early communication between the Aegean and the West developed under the influence of what actually happened in the Late Bronze Age and that excavation has steadily been confirming this view. With this I should not be inclined to disagree. Nevertheless, I should like to see the literary sources handled with a more rigorous critical authority and the archaeological evidence treated with professional firmness; the two kinds of testimony should be knit together, rather than discussed separately. The introduction, which pays particular attention to modern scholarship and surveys the ancient writers, is an excellent and useful piece of descriptive writing. In the body of the book, however, Bérard does not analyze; he states his opinions and disagreements without giving reasons, especially with regard to work published between the two editions.

Bérard writes clearly, and, although Part II is often somewhat fanciful, he has provided in Part I a valuable and detailed account of the Greek colonization of the West. Students will find the book informative and enjoyable.

University of British Columbia MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR

ROMAN FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN LAW. By *H. F. Jolowicz*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xx, 217. $5.60.)

THIS volume, planned by the author as part of a larger work, was left by him in manuscript at his death. In a brief preface, F. H. Lawson states its purpose by the following citation from Jolowicz's own notes: "To explain its [Roman Law's] institutions and rules in so far as they are the foundation of European Law." The work is divided into three parts of unequal length. The first and longest (pp. 1–105) is entitled "The Sources of Law." Under this head, Jolowicz discusses not only Roman statutory law, that is, the corpus juris and its later appendages as accepted through the work of the glossators, but also the various rules, customs, and practices derived from Roman sources which have come to influence modern law. Thus we find included among the sources rules of interpretation, custom, the limits of legal application, concepts of public and private law, equity, the Roman tripartite division of the law, and the effects of procedure. Part II (pp. 107–39) is devoted to the law of persons, which covers natural and legal persons and the origin, limitations on, and the termination of legal capacity. Part III (pp. 140–206) treats family law, including marriage, matrimonial property, relationships, *patria potestas,* and the obligatory support of relatives. As Lawson points out in the preface, the treatment of family law is incomplete since it omits consideration of guardianship, and so he has included there a synopsis of the topic found among the author's papers.

In discussing each question, Jolowicz pursues the same historical method. Starting with an exposition of the pertinent classical Roman Law, he then explains the modifications introduced in Justinian's codification, next the interpretations and reactions of the medieval expositors of civil and canon law, and finally

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the position of modern European legal systems, with the reasons for their attitudes and differences and the contrasts between continental and English law.

The presentation of the subject is both learned and lucid, exhibiting the high qualities one expects from a writer of Jolowicz's distinction. It shows excellent powers of critical analysis and constructive criticism, a thorough command both of the subject and its bibliography. But in spite of its clarity in organization and exposition, this book will not be easy reading for all historians. It was written for scholars trained in the law with an interest in its historical development. Those who are unfamiliar with Latin, with some knowledge of the history of Roman Law and its reception in medieval Europe, or with modern legal terminology will be unable to appreciate it properly. The work is well provided with helpful scholarly aids: a list of the sources cited, another of abbreviations of the titles of books repeatedly referred to, copious footnotes, and a good index.

University of Michigan A. E. R. Boak

KIRCHENVÄTER UND SOZIALES ERBRECHT: WANDERUNGEN RELIGIÖSER IDEEN DURCH DIE RECHTE DER ÖSTLICHEN UND WESTLICHEN WELT. By *Eberhard F. Bruck*. (Berlin: Springer Verlag. 1956. Pp. xi, 286. DM 36.)

In this new book Professor Bruck, an internationally known authority on Greek and Roman law, presents the history of an idea of great importance for the social evolution of man, which has permeated the legislation of many nations—the idea of the "quota for the poor" (and, at the same time, for the soul of the giver). Bruck traces this idea back to the fathers of the Christian church and pursues it from this point through the ancient and medieval world with an amazing knowledge of all the legal codes of Eastern and Western peoples and the modern literature about them. The method applied is not the abstract comparative study of various systems of law but that of the true historian who follows an individual historical process from place to place and from time to time, thereby revealing the continuity of our cultural tradition in a representative example.

The ancient Greek church set the pattern of a new social feeling and tried to organize it accordingly. The Cappadocian fathers, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, and John Chrysostom, first gave expression to this sentiment and formulated their concrete demands for great material sacrifices on the part of the rich. There had been some special institutions for taking care of the poor in the ancient world, as Bolkestein's noted book on *Armenpflege* proved. The new feature of the Christian charity advocated by the church fathers of the late fourth century was its religious motivation by the salvation of the giver's soul in the life hereafter. It is true that the giving of alms had been an important part of Christian piety from the apostolic age, but the ascetic character of this early Christian religion was revived by the great fathers of the church who were

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the leaders of the monastic movement of the fourth century. Bruck has collected all the passages in their homilies that deal with this question.

The monk's ideal of the *vita perfecta* involved the sacrifice of all his property. This ideal was extended by the more rigorous fathers to all Christians alike, but in an inevitable compromise with the realities of life, a certain quota was finally fixed as a gift to the church for the rich man who left a fortune at his death. The measure of this quota varied at different places and in different times, as Bruck points out by many examples. Custom became law and formed part of many legislations. Bruck traces this process first in the East, where he analyzes Justinian's legislation, later Byzantine law, Syrian, Armenian, and Georgian law. Soon the idea was transfered to the Latin-speaking West, including the Germanic and Celtic nations, during or after the period of migration. Historians of law who limited their interest to Western civilization derived the quota from St. Augustine, who recommended leaving one fifth to the church. But Bruck shows how the idea traveled from the Orient to the Western peoples and tries to establish the main stops on its way. As the bearers and mediators of this tradition, St. Jerome, Rufinus, and John Cassian are of special importance, and among other places the monastery of Lerinum seems to have served as a meeting ground. Bruck has given special attention and careful analysis to Visigothic and Irish law and explains the spread of the idea of the quota over the rest of Europe (Britain and the Continent) through the ubiquity of Irish missionary influence. One of his last chapters is devoted to the *corpus iuris canonici*. This is the rough outline of the process of migration that the idea undergoes, as Bruck sees it, thereby establishing a picture of surprising breadth and novelty.

No short review can give an adequate impression of the depth and detail of Bruck's researches, which reveal a unique familiarity with the immense legal and theological material throughout the centuries. Bruck's former work on the problems of *Totenteil und Seelgerät* in the ancient period appears in his new book expanded to a truly universal historical perspective. His approach is far from being antiquarian; it is full of genuine historical thought and insights, not merely on the legal and canonical level but also on the cultural and political level. It is to be hoped that our historians of ideas will make good use of this book, which belongs in every historical and sociological library. It adds a new dimension to the study of the church fathers, who have generally been presented in the perspective of the evolution of ecclesiastical doctrine; they are pictured to us here, in their profound influence on practical life, as warmhearted and vital human personalities, who through the strength and clarity of their vision rose to the true issues of their time.

Harvard University WERNER JAEGER

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REICHSKANZLEI UND HOFKAPELLE UNTER HEINRICH V. UND KONRAD III. By *Friedrich Hausmann*. [Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica (Deutsches Institut für Erforschung des Mittelalters), 14.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1956. Pp. xxxii, 351. DM 42.)

BEARING continuing witness to the rigorous standard of scholarship maintained in the Viennese school by Sickel, Redlich, and more recently by Santifaller, this learned and meticulous study is primarily concerned with the personnel of the imperial chancery and its recruiting ground, the *Hofkapelle,* during the first half of the twelfth century. An excellent conspectus of the dominant administrative trends in the chanceries of Henry V and Conrad III respectively serves to introduce the biographical sketches of the forty-seven chancellors, notaries, and chaplains who staffed this vital institution during the period under review. Their mannerisms of style and calligraphy are then employed to track down the *diplomata* and other written instruments, naturally widely dispersed, which they prepared in the imperial chancery. This method of *Diktatvergleich* often brings the researcher into dangerous and uncertain terrain; the author rightly warns that a common stock of Biblical and classical learning and an addiction to the standard formulae of the chancery may produce superficial verbal similarities in documents from entirely different hands.

The recruitment of competent and politically reliable personnel for the chancery was a delicate task in this period, when the investiture contest and the growing preoccupation of the German episcopate with *Territorialpolitik* produced divided loyalties and aspirations among the clerical bureaucracy. Henry V's chancellor, Adalbert of Saarbrücken, displayed unwavering fidelity until his investiture with the see of Mainz in 1111. He became thereafter the mortal foe of the emperor, attempted to block the passage of the Concordat of Worms, and engineered the election to the throne of the curial candidate, Lothair III, in 1125. Lothair and his successor, Conrad III, were better served by their chancellors, Arnold of Wied, Archbishop of Cologne, and Arnold of Selehofen, Archbishop of Mainz. Both rulers were ecclesiastical nominees, both feared to open the wounds left by the investiture contest, and both were too hard pressed by their rivals among the secular princes to risk a breach with the German church. The increasing stability and continuity of chancery personnel after the convulsions of the investiture struggle were evidenced by the long official career of Wibald, Abbot of Stablo, who served as notary for over a generation until his death on a diplomatic mission at Monastir in 1158.

The present reviewer would have welcomed a final chapter devoted to an analysis of chancery personnel from the viewpoints of social origins, the localities and institutions from which fresh recruits were drawn, their cultural attainments, and the development of a bureaucratic tradition of service independent of changes in ruler or dynasty. Secondly, the author's account of David, *scholasticus* of Würzburg and later Bishop of Bangor, requires some emendation. David was not

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of Irish or Scottish origin, but almost certainly Welsh (*Annales de Wigornia,* in *Annales monastici* [R. S.], iv, 377), and his authorship of the lost *Relatio caesarea altera,* questioned on page 318, is clearly affirmed by Ekkehard of Aura (*Chronicon, MGH. SS.* vi, 243) and by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta regum anglorum* [R. S.], iii, 498). These are minor blemishes, however, in a work of immense learning solidly based upon a profound and intimate knowledge of original sources.

McGill University CHARLES BAYLEY

LE GOUVERNEMENT D'HENRI II PLANTEGENÊT. By *Jacques Boussard.* [Bibliothèque Elzévirienne, Nouvelle série, Études et Documents.] (Paris: Librairie D'Argences. 1956. Pp. lxviii, 687.)

OUR author states that his aim is to survey the situation prevailing when Henry II came to power, noting the units of feudal society, estimating the resources of feudal lords and their ruler, observing how government functioned at each level of society, discussing the nature of authority and of its juridical theories, and estimating the achievements of Henry and the men around him in effecting the important changes of his reign. He treats Henry's work "dans son ensemble, en conservant les justes proportions entre l'importance de royaume et celle des terres d'outr-mer. Des deux côtés de la Manche, les historiens, coupés les uns des autres par une separation qui remonte à la scission de l'empire Plantegenêt en 1204, ont été surtout préoccupés par l'aspect national des problèmes." He does not propose to explain a phase either of English constitutional history or of the early development of the Capetian monarchy. For him Henry is neither French nor English. He is the ruler of the Plantagenet state, "la réalisation parfaite du régime feodal." We are invited to look at this state in contemporary terms to see how it looked to those concerned with its immediate problems. This involves a process of analysis of interest to a political scientist; it shows a process of change in a medieval society significant for a sociologist. But the approach is always historical, free from philosophical generalizing; the emphasis is always feudal, not with feudal generalizations, but with feudal particularizations within a single lifetime. Nonfeudal problems are ignored; the Becket episode is merely mentioned.

Readers of Boussard's book on the county of Anjou know the pattern of his work. The volume before us begins with a section on feudal geography, a detailed analytical survey of the frontier regions, feudal England, the Plantagenet states in France, and Aquitaine (a supplementary pamphlet of nineteen simple outline maps is provided).

This involves a great many names and represents much local research; if the reader gets a confused impression, it is probably due to the confusion of a feudal situation. An emphasis upon roads and their significance for local economy is interesting. Contrasts between different parts of the empire are clearly noted.

The second section treats the social and institutional structure of England and

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the continental areas. "La société avec son double aspect rural et urbain, en Angleterre comme sur le continent, s'était elaborée lentement par une évolution spontanée soumise aux influences économiques et démographique." In contrasting the different regions, the author elucidates the varied processes of institutional development in feudal society. He is, of course, summarizing and synthesizing the work of previous scholars, but his own extensive researches enable him to make critical comment upon and, on occasion, take issue with their conclusions. The footnotes provide a discussion of the literature of the subject, supplementary to the fifty pages of titles relating to printed works and manuscript sources.

Political narrative is confined to the final section. It pictures Henry functioning as a feudal ruler, a champion of order and efficiency in his own interest but not an innovator. Like all post-Carolingian rulers he built only for himself without any idea of founding a large state to be handed on intact to his descendants. His activities illustrate the effective political techniques for exercising power in a twelfth-century feudal setup. Not until St. Louis could a French king function in comparable fashion.

Williamstown, Massachusetts RICHARD A. NEWHALL

Modern European History

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY IN WESTERN EUROPE, 1820–1953. By *Michael P. Fogarty*. [International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1957. Pp. xviii, 461. $6.75.)

PROFESSOR Fogarty of Cardiff, economist, Labourite, Catholic layman, explains his understanding of Christian Democracy in the following words: "It might be crudely defined as the movement of those laymen, engaged on their own responsibility in the solution of political, economic, and social problems in the light of Christian principles, who conclude from these principles and from practical experience that in the modern world democracy is normally best: that government, in the State, the firm, the local community, or the family, should be not merely of and for the people but also by them" (p. 5). In his first 150 pages the author gives flesh and blood to this definition by an analysis of current principles and programs. Europe's area of most serious religious observance he finds in a strip extending from the Low Countries to the head of the Adriatic, and he draws his materials from the countries which are wholly or partially in this religious belt.

The history of the movement follows in roughly two hundred pages. It appears as an exemplification of a general thesis about social movements, which, in his opinion, tend to follow the individual's learning curve. When a new problem arises in a society the debaters pro and con lack the understanding of the issues to cope with it effectively. In time, however, the argument becomes more precise, experiments are undertaken, "and at last a preliminary 'break-through' is achieved,

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usually under the leadership of new men backed by a new social class or group not previously prominent." He estimates this task of clearly posing the problem and achieving a new frame of reference to be the work of about a generation. Thereafter comes a period of "relaxation and incubation" that continues the discussion and spreads it to wider circles and, at the end of the second generation, leads on to a generally accepted solution.

In accordance with this pattern, Fogarty devotes two chapters to the period 1820 to 1880, in which the first generation posed a new version of the old problem of the relation of church and state and the second brought it to substantial solution. Fogarty finds that the ensuing period developed according to the same rhythm. The years from 1880 to 1950 were a time of uncertainty and experiment, followed by a time of clarification and agreement on social and political policy. Liberal and Socialist techniques were adopted, but the excessive individualism of the former and the glorification of the state by the latter were rejected. A series of chapters explains how Europe's Christians developed functional activities—movements for workers, youth, family, farmers, and other groups—as well as characteristic political parties to give force to their view of how the Christian religion should shape the modern world.

The historical chapters are brief, without documentation, and subject in places perhaps to some debate on interpretation. They reveal, nonetheless, great historical knowledge and bring out in useful clarity the remarkable, indeed the revolutionary, change in the uses of religion which occurred when Christian laymen, both Protestant and Catholic, brought their faith to bear on the great issues of the past century.

But the history which the author presents seems to be inserted in the middle of the book less for the purpose of a systematic narrative of the imposing achievements of Christian Democracy than for a vantage point for peering into the future. As he considers the recent growth of Christian Democracy in the light of his pattern of the course of social movements, Fogarty comes to the conclusion that its various activities have grown toward the natural limits of their possibilities, and his mind moves toward the plausible prospect of a fresh Christian offensive in closer alliance with neighbors on each side of the Christian center. Such questions, however, are matters about which the historian might well be diffident; in his professional capacity, he merely welcomes a useful summary of a significant phase of recent European history.

Stanford University DAVID HARRIS

THE LION AND THE THRONE: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR EDWARD COKE (1552–1634). By *Catherine Drinker Bowen.* (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown and Company. 1957. Pp. xiii, 652. $6.00.)

STRANGE as it may seem, this is the first full-length life of Sir Edward Coke to appear for over one hundred years and is, in fact, the only one in any sense satis-

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factory ever to appear. The life by Serjeant Woolrych, published in 1826, is wholly inadequate and that of C. W. Johnson, a few years later, though long enough, is practically negligible. Within the last half century a few have promised to fill this gap, so surprising when one considers Coke's eminence, but to date no one but Mrs. Bowen has had the courage and the perseverance to complete a task requiring so many years of patient research.

The author makes "no claim to the discovery of new materials." "My aim," she says, "is introduction, evocation. I hope that my book will recall a great man long forgotten. *This biography is written as narrative, not as exposition.*" It is, therefore, as narrative rather than as exposition that this important book should be judged, and as narrative it seems wholly admirable. Few readers, I think, could deny that its chief purpose, "to recall a great man long forgotten," is fully and even brilliantly achieved. Mistakes, when they occur, are to be found mainly in the author's exposition of the law and procedure of England in Coke's time; but such mistakes, even the few rather serious ones, could be corrected quite easily with the assistance of an expert in English legal history if a new edition is called for, as is most likely.

Mrs. Bowen's bibliography is an indication of the great extent of her researches, and the book itself is proof that she has read carefully the vast number of sources listed. The one of greatest importance not to be found is Professor Thorne's brilliant Selden Society lecture on Coke, delivered in 1952, but not yet in print when Mrs. Bowen's book was finished.

The book has three main sections: Coke the "Parliament Man and Attorney General, 1552–1606," Coke the judge, and Coke the "Parliament Man." Woven in is a full account of Coke's youth and education, his first happy marriage, and his second, not so happy, to Lady Hatton. The book concludes with an account of Coke's important writings, particularly the *Reports* and the *Institutes*.

In the chapters on Coke as attorney general, he is presented as a thorough, even an extreme, upholder of the royal prerogative, as he was. His activity in the trials of the Earl of Essex, of the Jesuits, of the Gunpowder Plotters, and, particularly, of Sir Walter Raleigh is recounted brilliantly and at length; Mrs. Bowen naturally does not defend his outrageous outbursts against Sir Walter. When his office of attorney was exchanged for that of judge in 1606, in the words of our author "Edward Coke became, almost over night, another man." It was, however, probably not so much "another man," as another office and another sovereign that brought about this sudden change. The duties of a judge were vastly different from those of an attorney then, as they still are, and James VI and I was no Elizabeth. When Elizabeth's judges reminded the Queen that their oath as judge required obedience to the law even if against her commands, apparently nothing happened. When Coke said practically the same to James, we are told that the King "fell into that high indignation as the like was never knowne in him, looking and speaking fiercely with bended fist, offering to strike him."

Among Coke's contributions, probably none is of greater historical importance

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than his part in securing from an unwilling king the famous Petition of Right. It is sometimes said, even by some competent historians, that this petition was precisely the same as a petition for the enactment of any private bill, but this is not quite correct. Unlike all others, this petition contained the word *droit,* and it was this that caused the hesitation of the Lords, the unwillingness of the king, and the historical significance of the act itself. The insertion of that all-important word *droit* was probably the result of the insistence of Sir Edward Coke, ably seconded by Sir Dudley Digges, and the reason was that Sir Edward was anxious to secure against royal encroachment not only the subjects' future rights but those of the present and the past as well. This important subject has received somewhat less attention by Mrs. Bowen than the other great constitutional crises with which she deals.

As Thorne points out in his lecture before the Selden Society, if we expect to understand Sir Edward Coke and his contributions, we must keep in mind that

> despite his intense concern with history, this most unhistorically-minded of men was no scholar, but a tremendously busy practicing lawyer and judge. [He] did not try to rid his mind of the assumptions and presuppositions of his own age, and by an effort of will throw himself back into the fourteenth century, or re-think the thoughts of his predecessors on the Bench or the draftsmen of Magna Carta. He was always the Elizabethan, filled with the ideas of his own time, and honestly convinced that they had always been current, even in the old days when the ancient Britons, as he believed, talked Greek. . . . though his work confounds the legal historian, *its value can hardly be overestimated.*

Harvard University C. H. McIlwain

THE EARLY CHURCHILLS: AN ENGLISH FAMILY. By *A. L. Rowse.* (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1956. Pp. xii, 378. $6.50.)

Mr. Rowse has appealed in his historical writing far beyond the circle of professional historians and, at the same time, has retained their respect. His dual reputation will be enhanced by this book. Although he has drawn heavily on the modern Sir Winston's four-volume biography of his famous ancestor, Rowse has engaged in his own extensive researches. This is *his* book.

As the title suggests, the main difference between it and Churchill's *Marlborough* stems from the fact that Rowse gives us—and for the first time—aptly proportioned studies of the Cavalier Colonel Sir Winston Churchill, of his daughter Arabella, and of his two lesser sons, George and Charles, as well as a persuasively partial biography of the great John and a highly perceptive analysis of the formidable Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Rowse reveals the first Sir Winston as a dogged royalist unfailingly devoted to Charles II, perspicacious enough to recognize when the king was flouting the national interests, but distinguished chiefly for having sired England's greatest military genius. Only as he moves into the next generation of Churchills, beginning with Arabella and the early career of John during the peak of Stuart profligacy, does the historian find full scope

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for his narrative gifts and his special wit. The story that follows, to the completion of Blenheim Palace and the last days of Sarah, familiar as much of it is, Rowse tells with unflagging pungency.

Rowse is completely at home in political history from the Restoration to the Hanoverians, but had Mr. Walcott's *English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956) appeared in time, he would, no doubt, have been more circumspect about his use of party affiliations and labels. As it is, he shows Marlborough agreeing with all the Whig answers to the questions posed by the Revolution of 1688 and designates him as a Tory in King William's reign and as a moderate nonparty man when he was being viciously attacked by Swift. In fact, Marlborough was a superb Trimmer and Rowse, in effect, says so. The biographer is too determined to find a commendable motivation for all of Marlborough's actions, but he does succeed in bringing us under the spell of the Duke's personality.

Although I share many of Rowse's political, religious, and moral predilections and believe that a historian should be candid about his convictions, it seems to me that the effort to be detached, more unremittingly sustained than that which Rowse exhibits, should still be regarded as one of Clio's virtues. A good biographer must have sympathy for his subject, but when it comes to the great Churchills what might be called Rowse's "gene speculation" gets a bit out of hand. He says of the marriage between the Cavalier Colonel and the grand-niece of the first Duke of Buckingham: "Nothing in the Churchills so far, earthy and commonplace, could have foretold their astonishing future—nothing until that marriage." Actually the proportion of the famous Villiers' sister's blood in the Duke of Marlborough's veins was 1/8—and in the modern Sir Winston's, it is 1/1028. The effusive references to the modern Sir Winston (who is not the subject of this book) are so frequent that one wonders whether, like Aristides, Sir Winston is not imperiled by the encomiums of his admirers.

I recognize that what are blemishes to one critic may be attractive features to another. In any case, the space I have, for the sake of clarity, assigned to fault-finding is quite out of proportion to the praise which this engrossing book merits.

University of Rochester WILLSON H. COATES

THE TRIUMPHANT EMPIRE: NEW RESPONSIBILITIES WITHIN THE ENLARGED EMPIRE, 1763–1766. By *Lawrence Henry Gipson*. [The British Empire before the American Revolution, Volume IX.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. xliv, 345, xlv. $7.50.)

IN this ninth volume, which treats mostly of the years between 1763 and 1766 but begins a chapter on the Cherokee war with 1759 and ends one on the Ceded Islands with 1774, Gipson tests the liberality of the victorious Old Empire by viewing its treatment of the New. Faced with the problems of the new acquisitions after the peace of 1763, how did the Empire meet them? It met them fairly in-

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telligently and honestly, Gipson says. The Indian menace in the West had been put down by the British regular army, and the Proclamation of 1763, which set up a vast tentative reservation within which both trade and settlement were controlled, was meant to keep it quiet. In Nova Scotia settlement was encouraged and the common pattern of colonial government installed. In Quebec steps were taken to give the French Catholic inhabitants a degree of self-government. In the Floridas efforts were made at settlement, at developing economic stability, and at providing, for West Florida especially, representative government. In the Ceded Islands, where the exports to England were richer than for all of the other new governments combined, Great Britain became unusually indulgent, giving the Caribs a reservation of their own in St. Vincent, making Dominica a free port, and admitting French inhabitants to the franchise. In India the East India Company, with Clive again in command, moved to assume some political control in a Bengal incompetent to handle its own affairs. Two thirds of this volume are devoted to the course of events in the new acquisitions.

Gipson's methods of research begin now to be understandable. He uses printed and manuscript sources available in North America; contemporary works (his note praising Caraccioli's *Life of Robert Lord Clive* for its documents and warning against its prejudiced narrative is a model of its kind); unpublished source materials, especially in the chapters on the Floridas, the Ceded Islands, and India (where, when Harmsworth Professor at Oxford, he had opportunity to use the Public Record Office); and recent monographs. That he has not been able to see everything he would be the first to admit. That he is not unopen to criticism by specialists in some particular arena has been obvious since his first volume. Gipson cannot be cited as an authority when a specific matter of detail is involved. His is the kindly judgment—on the king, whose power was still very great; on the ministry, for which able men were hard to find in the 1760's; on colonial administrators, almost all of them conscientious and capable; and on writers of monographs and doctoral dissertations. However Gipson is to be appraised in the end for this extraordinary undertaking to which he has devoted a quarter of a century, it will be hard to deny his contention that the old Empire possessed, within its bureaucratic limitations, the most flexible and imaginative government of its age.

Small demurrers and criticisms will not hurt Gipson, nor will sweeping condemnations of him as a Tory historian. What will hurt him will be his own lack of sympathy, if that should emerge, with American colonials. He gives two indications in this volume of his approach: one, failure of British constitutional machinery to make provision for sincere differences of opinion outside Great Britain, and the other, lack of first-rate statesmen among ministers of cabinet council rank. What he must do now, following his own technique of telling a unified story though it violates the chronology of the series, is to go back to the 1740's and trace both the fancied and the real objections of Americans to British rule.

The Newberry Library STANLEY PARGELLIS

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DAS PROBLEM DER POLITISCHEN OPPOSITION: ENTWICKLUNG UND WESEN DER ENGLISCHEN ZWEIPARTEIENPOLITIK IM 18. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Kurt Kluxen*. [Orbis Academicus: Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Dokumenten und Darstellungen.] (Freiburg: Verlag Karl Alber. 1956. Pp. ix, 295. $3.39 postpaid.)

FROM the subtitle of this volume one might expect an account of the development and nature of eighteenth-century English party politics after the manner of Sir Lewis Namier, but Kluxen proceeds in quite another fashion. While he is aware of the realities of party government, his principal concern is theory, in particular, the political theory of Viscount Bolingbroke.

English writers have been hard on Bolingbroke. In his *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* Leslie Stephen dismisses Bolingbroke's writings as ephemeral political works designed to advanced his immediate objectives as leader of the opposition to Walpole, and in his *Political Thought from Locke to Bentham* Laski echoes this opinion. Of Bolingbroke's works only the *Patriot King* is considered worth serious attention, and the supposed adoption of its principles by George III has been taken as proof of the worthlessness of Bolingbroke's ideas.

Kluxen is intent on reversing such judgments. Drawing on the whole range of Bolingbroke's thought, he has given it a surprising coherence. He believes that Bolingbroke is an important figure in English thought—at once an acute analyst of politics worthy of comparison with Machiavelli and a precursor of Burke in his organic concept of the state, in his recognition of the necessary connection between morality and politics, and in his general stature as a philosopher of conservatism. In support of his thesis Kluxen ranges widely over the history of ideas, drawing a number of interesting parallels in the discussion of the varied influences on Bolingbroke and his influence on others.

Within the general framework of Bolingbroke's "cosmic Toryism" (the term is Basil Willey's) is set his theory of Opposition. "Government" (i.e., Constitution and Common Law) is good, for it embodies the inherited wisdom of the Folk; but "government" (i.e., the ministry) is subject to inevitable degeneration because of the imperfection of human nature and the corrupting influence of power. The Opposition provides the necessary antithesis to "government": regeneration vs. degeneration, public interest vs. private, the whole vs. the part (i.e., Walpole's party). Theoretically this antithesis—which guarantees the health of the state (or freedom)—can be transcended in a synthesis: the "Patriot King." Such a ruler—the embodiment of the Folk—symbolizes the perfect identity of public and private interest, government and people, the part and the whole. In this instance, Opposition loses its *raison d'etre* and can "wither away."

Bolingbroke's theory of Opposition and the Patriot King is not his most impressive contribution, and on this particular point Kluxen is least convincing. He has, however, raised Bolingbroke's reputation a significant notch or two from the depths to which it fell not long after his own time.

College of Wooster ROBERT WALCOTT

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THE POPULATION OF JAMAICA. By *George W. Roberts*. With an introduction by *Kingsley Davis*. (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Conservation Foundation. 1957. Pp. xxii, 356.)

JAMAICA AND THE NEW ORDER, 1827–1847. By *Anton V. Long*. [Special Series, Number 1.] (Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies. 1956. Pp. iv, 167.)

FEW historians, even Caribbean specialists, will find much sheer enjoyment in reading Mr. Roberts' tightly packed analysis of Jamaican population, but all future historians of the recent Caribbean will be very much in Roberts' debt. *The Population of Jamaica* is the first of three studies of the Jamaican population to be sponsored by the Conservation Foundation. In this volume the historical demography of the island is carried from the first population estimates to the census in 1943, with emphasis on the period since the first census in 1844. Present population problems and trends are mainly left to a concluding chapter and to the two volumes yet to appear.

This work is an admirable example of the contribution that can be made to historiography by the professional demographer. Roberts, a vital statistics officer of the Development and Welfare Organization for the British West Indies, goes far beyond the statistical data that is too often thought to be the demographer's only concern. In this case he has produced not a set of tables but rather a slightly specialized social history of Jamaica during the past century and a half. With his base in demography, Roberts might have been expected to offer new and unexpected interpretations in Jamaican social history. He does offer new interpretations, but since there were no old theories with general acceptance, his job has been one of breaking new ground rather than of overturning old ideas with a new approach.

Among his many contributions, the author untangles the complex problems of immigration and emigration, which have figured so heavily in Jamaican history. There are important chapters on the relation between population and the social patterns that make for changing birth rates and between economic history and the changing distribution of population within Jamaica. His treatment of mortality and birth rates before and after emancipation is of special interest, since it points to important conclusions for the study of slavery as an institution. Though these matters have all been of interest to the general historian, historians have heretofore lacked the technical training for dealing with them effectively.

Mr. Long's work, by contrast, is a specialized monograph concentrating on the period between 1838 and 1847, in spite of the title claiming somewhat wider coverage. Originally a thesis, it still bears some marks of an academic exercise. There are too many factual errors, and there are weaknesses of understanding whenever Long moves beyond the core of his subject, either geographically or chronologically. He has, however, consulted the Colonial Office records, which have not been used extensively for the period after 1838, and the use of this material leads, among other things, to an interesting reassessment of the relations

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between the Jamaican constitutional crisis of 1839 and the Bedchamber crisis in England. The work as a whole, however, is too uneven to be a valuable contribution to the history of Jamaica.

University of Wisconsin PHILIP D. CURTIN

THE TURN OF THE TIDE: A HISTORY OF THE WAR YEARS BASED ON THE DIARIES OF FIELD-MARSHAL LORD ALANBROOKE, CHIEF OF THE IMPERIAL GENERAL STAFF. By *Arthur Bryant.* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1957. Pp. xiii, 624. $6.95.)

STRATEGY emerges from an ordeal of study, surmise, argument, and compromise. No book or record discloses more than this one about the way in which this compound process worked to shape British (and joint United States-British) strategy during the Second World War. It is based on the first segment of the diaries kept by General (later Field-Marshal) Sir Alan Brooke, from the start of the war to "the turn of the tide" in early 1943 and on to the Second Quebec Conference in August. During that period this quick-minded, intent, durable soldier was first in command of the corps of the British Expeditionary Forces that held the line of resistance around Dunkirk, then, after serving during the period of impending German invasion as Commanding Officer of the Southern Command in Britain and Commander-in-Chief of the Home Forces, was appointed army member of the Imperial Staff and afterwards its Chief. In this last post his influence was great—upon the British military effort, upon his British and American colleagues, and upon his superior authority, Winston Churchill, Prime Minister and Minister of Defense. Of the many items in his diary of work and anxiety, none will be read more eagerly than those which convey the views and demeanor of that superbly active, irrepressible war leader in defeat and triumph.

Lord Alanbrooke (as he became) supplemented his diary entries by "Notes on My Life," adding to fact and interpretation. These notes, as well as personal correspondence, contribute to this book. Around these records, Sir Arthur Bryant has written a continuous narrative, supplying circumstance for the events, expounding Brooke's acts and convictions, and arguing with those other strategists, chiefly Americans, who argued with Brooke and sometimes frustrated him. The result is lucid and vivid, but others may find it, as I have, sometimes repetitive and overzealous in defense and adulation of Brooke.

Brooke rigidly believed in a strategy of (1) concentration of forces first against Germany and Italy and (2) clearing the Mediterranean and wearing down Axis European forces by movements from the south and by air bombardment, before attempting a cross-Channel invasion. These convictions cram the diary with accounts of his arguments against American advocates of other ideas: Admiral King, with his determined way of securing naval vessels, shipping, and particularly assault shipping, for campaigns in the Pacific, and General Marshall and Secretary Stimson, with their desire to invade across the Channel. In the handling

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of these strategic issues, and even more notably in Bryant's commentary, there is singularly little regard for Soviet reaction to our decisions.

Enough omissions are indicated in the printed diary entries to give the impression that we are not being allowed access to the whole of Brooke's recorded thoughts. Most of these probably were made to avoid personal quarrels, but some break up the presentation on matters of main historic interest.

Good reasons exist for dissent regarding some of the judgments and remarks written hastly by Brooke in his diary entries; but these tell us too much to give offense. It is more difficult to keep a level temper about some of the distortions in Bryant's enthusiastic commentary. One of the most annoying is the imputation that the American authorities, because of carelessness and lack of preparedness, can fairly be held responsible for initial British defeats in the Far East. One of the most sustained is Bryant's expansive endorsement of Brooke's irritated opinion that often Marshall and King (and even Churchill now and again) wholly failed to grasp the need for conducting the war as a world-wide whole, that they did not understand that what was undertaken in any one theater of war must affect what could be done in others.

In sum, the perspective of the presentation in these pages may be slanted and some of its assertions challenged. But the book is a most informative and absorbing contribution to our knowledge of the making of war strategy and of the part played by a central figure, General Sir Alan Brooke.

York, Maine HERBERT FEIS

L'INTENDANCE D'ALSACE SOUS LOUIS XIV, 1648–1715. By *Georges Livet.* [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Fascicule 128.] (Paris: Société d'Édition *Les Belles Lettres.* 1956. Pp. 1,084.)

LIKE Henri Fréville's even more massive *L'Intendance de Bretagne,* published in 1953 (see review in *AHR,* LX [Oct., 1954], 85–87), this work directs attention to one of the most remote, and one of the most particularistic, provinces of the old French monarchy. Alsace under Louis XIV was German in speech, almost half-Lutheran in religion, and so complicated territorially that it practically defied rational administration. In the attempt to make this stubborn congeries of fiefs, free cities, and ecclesiastical holdings more truly a part of the realm, the king and his ministers relied on a wide variety of agents—generals, diplomats, prelates —but above all on a succession of increasingly powerful intendants. Thus the history of the intendancy of Alsace is a valuable record of governmental aims, methods, resources, and limitations under the *ancien régime.* That record is painstakingly presented by Professor Livet, on the basis of municipal, departmental, and national archives.

The author characterizes the progression of his subject as one from foundation, through extension, to consolidation. Actually, an earlier stage, which might be called simply confusion, encompassed the years 1634 to 1648, when five short-

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term holders of the title, or at least the powers, of intendant sought to further French military interests on the upper Rhine during and after the brief "reign" of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar. The ensuing development can best be followed through the careers of the province's ablest administrators under Louis XIV. The first was Colbert de Croissy, acting in all things as both observer and executor for his gifted brother at court. The second was Jacques de La Grange, formidable agent of a still more formidable master, Louvois. The third was Félix Le Pelletier de La Houssaye, accountable to no such powerful minister, compelled to meet on his own the famines and invasions of the War of the Spanish Succession. Through the papers of all three, and those of their lesser colleagues, one sees propounded and pursued that cautious inclination "not to trouble things in Alsace," not to create needless resentment in a sensitive border area, which was the key to royal policy there.

Livet writes as a Frenchman who believes the success of the monarchy in creating a loyal Alsace was due to "the dynamism of two dominant ideas: that of unity realized in security, that of . . . prestige, affirmed still more in the domain of the spirit than in that of arms" (p. 910). But he also writes with no apparent desire to exacerbate old Franco-German disputes and with full awareness of the fact that Louis XIV was frequently ruthless and sometimes hypocritical, in short, a prince of his age.

The reader may well feel that less profusion of detail would have permitted closer and clearer argument, but he cannot begrudge the author his obvious respect for the tough, intelligent men of whom he writes. A sequel, it is hoped, will carry us through the eighteenth century to the Revolution. But there is no doubt about it—this book portrays the heroic age of royal rule in Alsace.

Harvard University FRANKLIN L. FORD

DIDEROT: THE TESTING YEARS, 1713–1759. By *Arthur M. Wilson.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 417. $10.50.)

IT is a full eighteen years now since Arthur Wilson, professor of government and of biography at Dartmouth College, set out for Europe on a Guggenheim Fellowship with plans in his pocket for writing a new life of Diderot. Since that time, with a single-minded devotion worthy of the hard-working Encyclopedist whom he has been studying, Wilson has carried his project steadily forward, visiting repeatedly the scenes of Diderot's boyhood in the medieval walled town of Langres and those of the later years of slowly increasing fame in Paris, painstakingly seeking out documents in France, England, and recently in Soviet Russia. If he has missed any article, book, or meaningful scrap of paper, such gaps must indeed be rare and still unknown to present Diderot scholarship. This is easily the most complete, the most impartial, and the most carefully documented biography of Diderot in any language.

The present volume, after the narrative of Diderot's education and young

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manhood, centers largely around the *Encyclopedia* over which he toiled and for which he fought so vigorously during fifteen years of his early public career. Wilson has read the important articles of the first seven folio volumes of the *Encyclopedia* as they appeared annually in sequence from 1751 through 1757; he knows the significant articles of other contributors in addition to those of Diderot himself. He has gone beyond his predecessors in recounting the details of publication, suspension, warfare against the censorship, and what seemed at the time to be final suppression in 1759. He describes accurately as a blunder of the first water D'Alembert's famous article on Geneva in the seventh volume, an article encouraged in all probability by Voltaire, but which, through its advocacy of the theater and its depiction of the Protestant pastors as deists and heretic Socinians at heart, violently antagonized them and other prominent citizens of the ardent Calvinist Zion. The article further drew down the condemnation of Rousseau in his *Lettre à D'Alembert sur les spectacles* in 1758 and signalized the beginning of a public rupture between Jean-Jacques on the one hand and his fellow-*philosophes,* Voltaire, Diderot, and D'Alembert, on the other. Ultimately, this unfortunate blunder by D'Alembert contributed, in part at least, to a general uproar which caused the suppression of the *Encyclopedia* in 1759, as far as the continued publication of separate annual volumes was concerned. These truly were "the testing years" for Diderot, as Wilson has aptly called them in his title.

This volume won the Modern Language Association-Oxford University Press Award for the best book manuscript submitted in 1955. The work will be completed by a second volume, on the preparation of which the author is even now working in Europe, again under the aegis of a Guggenheim Fellowship. The succeeding volume will deal with the fruitful later years of Diderot's life from 1760 to his death in 1784, including the large number of posthumous masterpieces of great and varied originality which remained unknown to the public until the end of the eighteenth or during the course of the nineteenth century. This later volume will therefore be even more important, if that is possible, than the first. All who are interested in the period of the French Enlightenment will eagerly await its publication.

There are remarkably few details to which even the most exigent reader can take exception; the proofreading is practically impeccable. Did Rousseau actually write the enthusiastic prediction of Diderot's future fame which has been attributed to him? This is, at any rate, one of the rare undocumented passages in the book. Some readers may be inclined to hesitate between Professors Wilson and Herbert Dieckmann on the extent to which Diderot drew upon predecessors for his accounts of the technical processes of manufacture. The use of "thy" as a translation of the French familiar form of the pronoun (p. 40), so remote from English usage today, and that of the British word "solicitor" (p. 39 and elsewhere) might well have been avoided. The word *"sèche"* would more accurately have been rendered as "thin" in the reference to Mlle. Volland's *"dry* little hand"

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(p. 229); likewise, the French word *"injure"* would be better, not as "injury" (p. 289), but as "insult."

But these are the slightest of slight criticisms of what is indeed an admirable volume, an example of the best American scholarship, unusually accurate in its facts, very completely documented, sound, balanced, and impartial in its interpretations.

Ohio State University GEORGE R. HAVENS

MIRAGE IN THE WEST: A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH IMAGE OF AMERICAN SOCIETY TO 1815. By *Durand Echeverria.* Foreword by *Gilbert Chinard.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xvii, 300. $5.00.)

THIS carefully documented case history of French public opinion between 1767 and 1815 traces the weaving and the disintegration of what the author considers the first great secular *mystique* of modern times. He seeks to explain how French liberals fashioned a shining image of the new world across the Atlantic, by an act of faith incorporating their own aspirations and fears together with data about America, which they saw through a glass brightly. He shows how that image, in a diluted and sentimentalized form, was deeply and widely diffused between 1784 and 1794. It is Mr. Echeverria's hope that his study will illuminate a remarkable phenomenon that enabled travelers, *philosophes,* scientists, men of letters, and statesmen to focus upon America as the terrestrial seat of the Heavenly City by endowing the American experience with the ardently desired attributes, alas lacking in France, of liberty, virtue, prosperity, and enlightenment. It is his larger hope that his investigation will help us, Americans of the twentieth century, to comprehend why the world, to our bewilderment, has fashioned a strange and distorted image of our civilization, which mocks our idols and derides our fears.

His scholarly work does indeed throw much light upon the phenomenon that he examines. If part of the evidence that he adduces, along with some of the conclusions that he reaches, have been presented before, nevertheless his study has the great merit of examining the material independently and synthesizing it into a coherent and intelligible whole. Particularly valuable are his careful treatment of the roles of Franklin and Chastellux in the composition of the image and his helpful analysis of how the *émigrés* contributed to the unraveling of the pattern, a process which ended during the transitional period of the Consulate and Empire in a confusion of contradictory, divergent, and chaotic ideas about the new civilization once so admired.

There can be no serious disagreement with what Echeverria says in this discerning, shaded handling of a complex problem. He has ably substantiated his contention that the image of America was a projection of French faith in progress, an image which faded when it had outlived its usefulness. The complexity of the problem, however, is even greater than he has indicated, and since he relies

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heavily upon testimony that is essentially *livresque* in its character, his eyes are closed to the existence of another facet of the problem. Quite correctly, he sees the dream evaporating, at least in part, under the stress of an antirevolutionary French nationalism that gripped the *émigrés*. He fails to do justice to the equally significant fact that French nationalism was also a fundamental ingredient in the making of the image. That dream was spun in the setting of a nationalism which already existed before 1789, as the writings of such students as Frances Acomb, R. R. Palmer, and Boyd Shafer have amply demonstrated. Moreover, if both the new aggressive liberal Anglophobia and French nationalism contributed to the making of the American dream—as well as the liberals' faith in progress—*before* 1789, it was revolutionary nationalism within France *after* 1789, and not only *émigré* counter-revolutionary nationalism, which contributed to its dissipation.

New York University LEO GERSHOY

CAHIERS DE DOLÉANCES DU TIERS ÉTAT DU BAILLIAGE DE ROUEN POUR LES ÉTATS GÉNÉRAUX DE 1789. Tome I, LA VILLE. By *Marc Bouloiseau*. [Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire économique de la Révolution française, publiés sous la direction du Ministère de l'Éducation nationale.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. clxvi, 274. 1,000 fr.)

CAHIERS DE DOLÉANCES DE LA SÉNÉCHAUSSÉE D'HENNEBONT. By *P. Thomas-Lacroix*. [Extrait des Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne, Tome XXV.] (Rennes: Imprimerie bretonne. 1955. Pp. 104. 51 fr.)

PRESENT research in France on the subject of social structure adds to the former importance of volumes on the *cahiers de doléances* of 1789. Bouloiseau is eminently qualified to publish the cahiers of the grand bailliage of Rouen, the most important electoral district in Normandy, with an industrial and important commercial city for its electoral center. He has already edited numerous volumes dealing with Rouen, including the *biens nationaux*. This is the first volume of a series of three that will include the gild cahiers and town cahier, published in this first volume, and a very nearly complete collection of parish cahiers. The text of the general cahier of the third estate of Rouen, found in 1935, has not yet been published in full. The reviewer gave indications of the text in her *Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789* (pp. 389–91).

Attention is centered perhaps more on the electoral documents and biographical material that throw light on the elections than upon the cahiers themselves. Bouloiseau has set a standard that many will find difficult to match for other districts in the thoroughness of his introduction, in which he has surveyed the history and the geographic, political, economic, and social composition of the

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bailliage. He has also provided a summary of the documents themselves and included demographic material hitherto ignored. This first volume is more concerned with Rouen and its environs than with rural elections, but Bouloiseau has already prepared a second volume (the costs of printing prevented simultaneous publication).

Significant new material brought out in the introduction includes discussion of elimination of the rural element in the successive elections, the predominant role of the town of Rouen, and the struggle for power among royal officers, commercial and gild aristocracy, and the lesser gilds. Neither cahiers of the lesser gilds, townsmen without gild, nor the parish cahiers were a real expression of the poorest and lowest persons in the French population. A startling new conclusion, on the basis of an extensive statistical study, indicates that the smaller the number of persons who could attend a primary assembly of gild or parish, the larger is the percentage of that number that actually appeared and participated in the electoral procedure. The royal officers and legal corps were able to gain power in the bailliage assembly, despite the majority from the parishes. The cahier of the third estate follows closely that of the town of Rouen, through the influence of Thouret, who was supported by the royal officers. An entire chapter of the introduction is devoted to the problem of the rural proletariat, with clear indications that their interests were overlooked in the general cahier. They were concerned, far more than the general cahier, with the price of bread, the rise in prices, complaints against the introduction of textile machines for the town lower class, and of the communal rights.

The 166 pages of the introduction could form a book by themselves. Bouloiseau deserves highest praise, not only for the careful editing of the texts and provision of all technical information relevant to the documents and their interpretation but also for the informative analysis of the elections and electoral documents of the grand bailliage of Rouen.

The archivist of the department of Morbihan has found the cahiers of the Breton *sénéchaussée* of Hennebont, which have been lost for some time, and has given us the documents for that district as an extract from the *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne*. Hennebont was a Breton port of some importance in the eighteenth century, particularly significant because the cahier of Lorient, a nearby and very important privileged port, is missing. Thomas-Lacroix has provided all the information usually given in a good edition of the cahiers, but after using the volume of Bouloiseau, one will be more aware than formerly of the additional information that should now be provided. It is to be hoped that these two historians, scholar and archivist, will encourage others to edit some of the unpublished collections that still survive.

Hunter College BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

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SÉVILLE ET L'ATLANTIQUE (1504–1650). Première partie, PARTIE STATISTIQUE. Tome IV, LE TRAFIC DE 1596 À 1620; Tome V, LE TRAFIC DE 1621 À 1650. By *Huguette* and *Pierre Chaunu*. [École pratique des hautes études, VI[e] section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, Routes, Trafics, Volume VI.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1956. Pp. 594; 530. 3,200 fr.; 3,200 fr.)

HISTORIANS of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe have long been frustrated by the lack of statistics about what was increasingly an economically determined world. Many of the desirable statistics can, unfortunately, never be discovered. Often no contemporary consciously recorded such data, especially when an activity was regarded as the concern chiefly of private persons. But within a generation, Earl Hamilton's studies of five centuries of prices and wages in Spain have revealed what can be learned by long and intelligent search of private, or at least local, records, and Fernand Braudel of the Collège de France has founded no less than a school of economic history. The latter's work has been on the economic history of the Mediterranean, with Spain and its rich and well-preserved archives playing a key role. Space forbids enlargement upon the irony that Castillians, perhaps the least "economic" of all the western European peoples, should by the passion of their Renaissance rulers for centralized control of nearly everything have preserved records on economic activities that are probably the best in Europe.

Now the Chaunus, worthy pupils of Braudel, have started publication of a detailed study of the trade between Spain and its American colonies that promises to dwarf anything of its type. There are to be eight tomes in ten volumes. The first three tomes, and volumes, appeared in 1955, with an explanation of the whole project and data from 1504 to 1595 (see review in *AHR,* LXII [Oct., 1956], 128). The last three tomes, in five volumes, will include over-all tables, graphs, and interpretation.

The volumes here under consideration complete the data volumes. Each is basically composed of double-page tables, arranged by years, then by direction of traffic, and finally by separate expeditions. Most but not all expeditions were in fleets. For each ship, so far as records permit, one finds the name, the shipmaster and owners, the ship's type, tonnage and age, the number of crew, and the ports to which or from which. Extensive notes add information on some of these points and much about the background and/or events of the voyage. The entries for 1596, for instance, comment about fleets sent after Francis Drake, about a fleet of discoverers and colonizers going to "El Dorado," and about the fleet that was destroyed at Cadiz before it could sail for New Spain. (Not every year, of course, was a 1596!) Data about cargoes and prices are not regularly included but do often appear, especially when they concern significant commodities like mercury or goods from other than the usual American terminal ports.

The whole body of data is carefully documented, with references usually to papers of *Contaduria,* the accountant's office, or of the *Casa de Contratación,* in

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the Archivo General de Indias. One or two typographical errors can be detected in dates, and one must suppose that a few slips elsewhere have evaded proofreaders. But the volume of data and the evidence throughout of patient, industrious, and intelligent work assure one that such slips are rare. The full value of the work cannot be forecast until all the volumes appear, though it surely will be great. Simply as a mine of information, the volumes now in print are indispensable to every worker in the field.

University of California, Los Angeles ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY

HET NATIONAAL-SOCIALISTISCHE BEELD VAN DE GESCHIEDENIS DER NEDERLANDEN: EEN HISTORIOGRAFISCHE EN BIBLIOGRAFISCHE STUDIE. By *I. Schöffer*. [Uitgegeven met Steun van de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Zuiver-Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek.] (Arnhem: van Loghum Slaterus; Amsterdam: J. M. Meulenhoff. [1956.] Pp. 359.)

THE author of this book shows himself a modest man: he tries to harvest fruit from barren soil or, to change the figure, he goes fishing in polluted water. He has asked himself the question: What would have been the official history of the Netherlands if the Nazi's had been victorious in World War II? He finds a blueprint for the answer in the writings of German historians and of a few, sometimes rather neurotic, Dutch collaborators. One does not envy the author the object of his study. Some of the German and Dutch historians tried to stick to certain standards of integrity, but, in differing degrees, practically all of them willingly shaped facts to the conclusions they desired.

Nevertheless, Dr. Schöffer is of the opinion that his study has led to some positive results. During the Nazi regime the above mentioned historians and journalistic propagandists explored the often neglected relations between the Netherlands and Germany (e.g., Werner Reese, *Die Niederlande und das Reich*). Stimulated by the Nazis, studies were published about the Dutch emigration to Germany and the Polish-Baltic area (Joh. Theunisz), and special attention was paid to the Dutch settlement in South Africa and its fight against the British (C. G. S. Sandberg). Studies like these are seldom important for their conclusions, but they are explorations in fields where others may still find material of some historical interest.

In describing the Nazi ideology of these and many other publications, Schöffer portrays the Nazi mentality, with its hero-worship and its irrational, quasi-mystical sentiment, and his book becomes an interesting portrait of a period. In three introductory chapters, the author gives an excellent background of national-socialism in general. Here and in the main part of the book, which describes the Nazi reconstruction of Dutch history, Schöffer shows an admirable independence and objectivity. This study is the result of an immense amount of work; the presentation of the facts is clear, and the general outline is never forgotten. The only thing a Dutch reader of this lively book must regret is the abundance of Teu-

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tonicisms. The author was unimpressed by the Nazi ideology, but to the influence of the German language he was far from immune.

Washington, D. C. P. G. J. Korteweg

THE REVOLT OF MARTIN LUTHER. By *Robert Herndon Fife.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 726. $9.75.)

The author, who has been known for almost thirty years as a Luther scholar through his *Young Luther* (1928), says that a new biography may well be added to the many already published, for in his view Luther keeps attracting both the theologian and the student of profane history. Professor Fife has tried to remain as free as possible from confessional bias. He holds that Catholic scholars like Joseph Lortz and Hartmann Grisar "have provided an invaluable challenge to Protestant scholarship." The bibliography (pp. 695–713) seems to reflect an intention to keep free from current views. Leaving out of the count a fair sprinkling of sixteenth- to eighteenth-century publications, there are roughly, of 450 works (including editions of primary sources), about one third that bear nineteenth-century dates and about one half with twentieth-century dates. Of the latter, all but one were published prior to 1940; the exception bears a 1951 date. The heaviest concentration is on works dated 1850 to 1930. The introduction refers the reader to the bibliographies in Roland Bainton's *Here I Stand* (1950) and Joseph Körner's *Bibliographisches Handbuch des deutschen Schrifttums* (3d ed., 1949), and thus more recent works are not ignored; but they are virtually absent in the footnotes. Nearly every page is documented by references to the sources. It is worth noting that the author draws very largely on German scholarship, which is indeed suitable to a professor of Germanic languages and literatures.

As did Professor Bainton, the writer takes the story to the Diet of Worms. Luther is always in focus, but he is set in the "times." The success of this method, a kind of life-and-times narrative, depends on a writer's knowledge, and on this score Fife does not fail. Few have succeeded in fusing the man and his context more imaginatively. Thus Luther's harshness toward the peasants in their war is associated with his bourgeois early life; his phenomenal memory is related to his having sweat over the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei and Peter of Spain's *Logicalia.* The town of Erfurt is vividly described, as are the customs and courses of its university. Such materials offer assistance in understanding sixteenth-century education and show how thoroughly scholastic Luther's courses were. Throughout the book there is much use of the *Table Talk* and other of Luther's later works to show how sharply he reacted against things learned and also how indelibly they had remained a part of him. In view of his later outbursts against Aristotle, it is worth noting how much he retained of him.

The author tends to underplay dramatic things that Luther often overplayed later, such as the vow to become a monk, the fits of depression in the monastery, the journey to Rome, the discovery of justification by faith alone. Other things

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that are played offstage, so to speak, are given prominence, such as Luther's theological studies, his preparation of sermons and lectures, his break with scholasticism, the reaction against scholasticism at Wittenberg (for Thomistic logic there were lectures on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), the burnings of Luther's books. There are a score of vivid vignettes, including those of Eck, Dungersheim, Emser, and Charles V. The effect of humanism on Luther, the development of his style, and the significance of various editions of his works receive attention throughout.

This review could be heavy with praise, for the book is astonishing both in its learning and in its clarity. The story is very largely told in terms of digests and analyses of letters, tracts, books, and sermons, leaving an impression of massive impartiality; this technique of letting documents speak, however, is often carried to excess by overlong reporting. Space might have been devoted to a chapter describing the anti-Roman feeling in Germany; we know it existed and that it was important, but its lineaments are not clear. The asserted importance of Luther's burning of the bull and the canon law is not substantiated. But all this is only to say that the book comes short of absolute perfection. The author's most distinguished merit is his way of using the life-and-times method. It seems to make Luther stand out more solidly, while it does not diminish the stature of his honorable and learned opponents.

University of Oregon QUIRINUS BREEN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GERMAN PUBLIC MIND: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF GERMAN POLITICAL SENTIMENTS, ASPIRATIONS, AND IDEAS. THE MIDDLE AGES, THE REFORMATION. By *Frederick Hertz*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. 524. $6.00.)

WE live in the age of the historical hybrid. In accordance with present standards, the subject matter of history must represent the crossing of at least two strains: political history must have its economic and social underpinning and, optimally, its theoretical superstructure; intellectual history must have its social basis and its political conditions; economic history must have its social effects; even diplomatic history must be internally conditioned; and as for "social" history, that convenient residual category, the more that goes into the pot the better. Nor has the form of historical writing escaped the ubiquitous pressure of the both-and: general histories must have specific reference, monographs must have general import, and whatever we write is, at one and the same time, to satisfy the specialist and attract the general reading public. The advantages of such an approach are patent: it overcomes the limits without surrendering the achievements of specialization, and it strives for synthesis of actions to replace the lost cosmic unity behind actions. But the synthetic approach has its perils too. Most notably, the multiplication of the factors in research can leave the historian draped uncomfortably between his stools and ensconced upon none.

These considerations are raised by Mr. Hertz's volume, for its strength and

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its weakness are those of the contemporary hybrid product. Its scope is vast, nothing less than a general history of Germany from the tribal period to the Peace of Westphalia. Moreover, it has an ostensible focus in the relationship of politics and society, a relationship which, in Hertz's label of the "public mind," is epitomized in "the political and social feelings, opinions, and aspirations of the various groups forming the German people, with special reference to those which have determined politics." In its application, the theme of the "public mind" revolves primarily around two poles—the political history of rulers and the commentaries of assorted pamphleteers on political and social situations—with chapters on religious, economic, and legal developments interspersed to denote changes of setting. The two areas of concentration provide appropriate channels for the employment of the author's outstanding qualities—the impressive erudition which is displayed in the description of events and in the paraphrase of commentaries and the feeling for humanity which penetrates behind the action to the actor.

But despite these merits the book ultimately overreaches itself and does not quite hang together. The multiplicity of its aims frustrates the complete attainment of any. It attempts general history and it works the specific theme of the "public mind," but these two facets tend to inhibit rather than to complement each other. The attention devoted to summarizing the works of publicists is disproportionate for a general history, while the patient recounting of familiar events, presumably for the edification of the novice, the extension of the factual background of the "public mind" to well over half of the book, the loose use of terms like "feudalism" and "nationalism," and the overwhelming preponderance of authorities over sources in the bibliography go ill with a special study. Indeed, the two facets often become two separate categories; the general history is frequently not organized for its relevance to the "public mind," and the expressions of the "public mind" are often accumulated without assessment of their impact on the general situation. The nub of the problem resides in this concept of the "public mind," which purports to be the vehicle of a general synthesis of politics and society but actually operates as a receptacle for sundries on religion, morals, and politics. In Hertz's usage, the "public mind" is an elastic notion which consists of a combination of the putative reactions to governmental policies, the equally putative reactions to material conditions, the psychological implications of sporadic popular actions, and, above all, the emissions of the publicists, which are by assumption identified with the opinions of society. Since these pieces of evidence are recapitulated piece by piece and not analyzed as a totality, it is not quite clear what the relations between politics and society are at any given time.

The format of the book repeats the dilemma of its substance. It is made up like a general popular history in the complete absence of footnotes and in the token presence of an index, too brief to be really useful. On the other hand, the appurtenances of the volume seem designed for a more specialized audience

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positively in the concession of an introductory bibliography of general titles and of chapter bibliographies, with all entries trenchantly and at times cryptically abbreviated, and negatively in the neglect of the editorial care usually accorded to trade books for a wider market.

Hertz has aimed high and has brought rich knowledge to bear. It is perhaps necessary in the present stage of historiography that the reach should exceed the grasp.

Yale University LEONARD KRIEGER

AUFFASSUNGEN ÜBER DIE SENDUNG DES DEUTSCHEN VOLKES UM DIE WENDE DES 18. UND 19. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Aira Kemiläinen*. [The Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, Ser. B, Vol. 101.] (Helsinki: the Academy. 1956. Pp. 301.)

THIS substantial doctoral dissertation examines the concepts of the mission of the German people during a period that in literature stretches from Lessing through the early Romantics, in philosophy from Kant through Fichte, and in politics from the travail of the old *Reich* through the founding of the German Confederation. These are not fresh topics, and the author, pointing to the *Überfluss* of sources and literature, is well aware that he treads the paths of Friedrich Meinecke, Fritz Valjavec, Reinhold Aris, Hans Kohn, and Carleton Hayes. Nor does he try seriously to depart from the major figures of the era: Herder, Klopstock, Humboldt, Schiller, Arndt, Adam Müller, Novalis, the Schlegels, *et al.*, that is to say, the leading members of the *Gelehrtenrepublik* of Germany. The effort is made, however, to isolate the ideas of the German mission from such other movements of the era as the incipient national-state idea or the patriotism rooted in the old *Reich*.

It is the major purpose of the book, as well as a contribution to scholarship, to clarify the fact that ideas of the German mission only partly overlapped those of nationalism and promoted the unity movement. Beginning with the mid-eighteenth century, when German writers had hardly begun to question the superiority of French culture, Kemiläinen describes the development step by step. First, there was the largely literary idea that German letters were equal to those of France within the general standards of the Enlightenment. Next came a feeling of superiority, reinforced by the great achievements of Schiller and Goethe. Then came the *Sturm und Drang* in literature, the aesthetic humanism of a Humboldt, and the idealism of a Kant, all of which gave grounds for the claim of German cultural supremacy in general. The German mission, meanwhile, developed from the modest notion that Germany should be the schoolmaster of the world in art and scholarship to the bolder claim, made by Fichte and the early Romantics, that Germany should spread her idealistic *Weltanschauung* around the world as once France had spread the Enlightenment. Disdaining the mere material and social progress of the latter, the German view

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stressed moral progress, religious betterment, and intellectual growth for the individual.

The concluding chapters attempt to relate these matters to politics, war, and nationalism, but the argument is not very clear. War for moral ends was approved by many of the intellectuals, but their aims were not military conquest, despite provocation from Napoleon. Most thinkers, in fact, had only a vague idea of a national state. "Die Gelehrten lebten—Arndt ausgenommen—in der politisch gleichgültigen Atmosphäre der Kleinstaaterei und des Gleichgewichts" (p. 263). Yet the author cautiously hazards the concluding remark that the creed of intellectual superiority, transformed by nineteenth-century materialism and realism, "perhaps" influenced, "even if indirectly," similar views in the twentieth century.

The study yields many refinements and nuances, yet the total effect lacks somewhat in force. When all the shadings have been described, all the fine distinctions delineated, we have perhaps had a stimulating exercise, but our over-all views have been little changed. Had the author not written so skillfully and quoted so generously from most interesting sources, the exercise could have been downright painful. As it is, we feel refreshed and rewarded.

University of Kentucky ENNO E. KRAEHE

RANKE UND DIE SOZIALE WELT. By *Rudolf Vierhaus.* [Neue münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, edited by *Kurt von Raumer,* Band 1.] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1957. Pp. 259. Cloth DM 19, paper DM 17.)

SINCE the day in May, 1950, when an anonymous latter-day Lord Acton scathingly indicted Ranke in the *London Times Literary Supplement,* disposing of him as altogether unfit for our century, various attempts have been made to vindicate the Prussian historian. Behind his alleged lack of ideas—indeed, disapproval of ideas—Pieter Geyl and Herbert Butterfield have discovered an expression of conviction after all. Eberhard Kessel and Carl Hinrichs have set out to reconstruct somewhat elaborately Ranke's theoretical premises. And now Rudolf Vierhaus takes up the problem of Ranke's alleged failure to emphasize the social factor in history, part of the general problem of Ranke's aversion to philosophizing and theorizing. Vierhaus reminds us that Marx, in a letter written to Engels in 1864, castigated Ranke's history as *Anekdotengeschichte* and as a collection of *Histörchen* and that Treitschke described Ranke as peering down on the "lower depths of society" from the elevation of the dynastic courts. Indeed, from the perspective of the twentieth century, during which the historian and the sociologist have moved closer and closer together, the Rankian approach to social issues seems at first sight to be particularly open to criticism. Without presenting an apology for Ranke, without going to the extreme of attributing to him a coherent social philosophy, Vierhaus undertakes here to reexamine Ranke's aware-

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ness of social forces. The value of his study is greatly enhanced by his use of the so far unexploited Ranke papers located in Marburg.

Ranke's world, beautifully recreated by Vierhaus, was marked by his deep Protestant faith, his roots in the pre-industrial social order, and his unquestioning acceptance of *Obrigkeit*. Nevertheless, Ranke lived in an age of crisis, of political and social unrest. He saw the traditional order challenged by new abstract ideas that were alien to him and, in particular, by a new class, the proletariat, which to his mind presaged total upheaval. Ranke's awareness of crisis, Vierhaus shows, was no less intense than that of his contemporaries, Burckhardt, De Tocqueville, and Lorenz von Stein. However, he was less agitated than Burckhardt, less willing than De Tocqueville and Von Stein to accept the inevitable. For Ranke nothing was inevitable, and he believed serenely in the survival of his old Europe.

This position was a matter of personal faith, not of scholarship. As a historian, Ranke did not ignore contemporary history or neglect the social factor. Being primarily a historian, he was, of course, above all concerned with what H. A. L. Fisher has called "the law of the contingent and the unforeseen." He was not a sociologist, and his method was descriptive rather than analytical; Ranke guarded the character of history as literature. Nevertheless, as Vierhaus aptly points out, Ranke had an "immanent sociology." For him, man was surely not an atom, "because man lives only within a community (*Gemeinschaft*). Within its confines everyone is allotted space and may set his own objectives." This "community" was less the social class than the family, dynasty, tribe (*Stamm*), folk, nation, state, and church. Vierhaus carefully examines the occurrence and meaning of these concepts in Ranke's work. Ranke's "immanent sociology" was less explicit, less intense, than the sociology of the twentieth-century professionals, but it permeated his work. His "social world" was broad and inclusive; the "sociological" insights of his *Politisches Gespräch,* for instance, were penetrating. In working out the relevance of Ranke's concepts, Vierhaus has furnished an answer to the question of why a historian like Ranke is never outdated and why Ranke's work is classic.

A number of interesting appendixes follow Vierhaus' study, among them an informative essay on the treatment in historiography of Ranke's attitude toward the social factor. Also included are reprints of some excerpts from the Ranke papers.

Smith College KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE. By *Andreas Dorpalen.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 345. $6.00.)

THE last major work on Treitschke, *Heinrich von Treitschke im deutschen Geistesleben des 19. Jahrhunderts,* was written in 1935 by Ernst Leipprand. The author eulogized Treitschke as responsible for the "spiritual regeneration" of

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the Third Reich and as one who embodied in his political beliefs the best of the spirit of Plato and Aristotle, Niebuhr and Savigny, Dahlmann and Mohl. This estimate was in strong contrast to that of British propagandists who in World War I constantly referred to "that trio of war-inspirers—Treitschke, Nietzsche, and Bernhardi."

Andreas Dorpalen's new work, the first full biography of Treitschke, is fortunately not burdened by Leipprand's panegyrical views. It is the author's purpose to portray Treitschke in due proportion against his own background—in terms of how he came by his ideas, what influences formed his thinking, and how he, in turn, influenced his time. Dr. Dorpalen has sought for a balanced treatment of this scarecrow intellect whose writings have been judged widely as representative of integral nationalism and pre-Nazi philosophy.

What emerges is a first-rate biography. The organization is excellent, the documentation is good, and the style is smooth and readable. There was one unfortunate handicap: most of Treitschke's unpublished papers are no longer available. Deposited in the Prussian State Library in Berlin after his death, they were removed during World War II and have since disappeared. Many biographical details could have been cleared up if these important papers had been at the author's disposal.

Dorpalen is at his best in placing Treitschke within the historical framework of his time, in discussing his academic career as *Praeceptor Germaniae* and his political life as *Reichstag* delegate, and in evaluating his works. But he is less effective in his aim to make his subject "human and understandable." It is a tall order. Treitschke was one of those ferocious, arrogant, and complex ridden personalities who cannot be understood without the help of the psychologist, psychiatrist, and psychoanalyst. (There is little doubt that future historians will have to turn more and more to these disciplines for assistance.) Treitschke's loves and hates were monumental. He was pro-Prussia, promonarchist, pro-State, prowar, and pro-Bismarck. His "antis" were staggering: he was, among other things, anti-Saxon, anti-Austrian, anti-French, anti-English, anti-Semitic, antibourgeois, anti-Socialist, antidemocratic, antiparliamentarianism, antiwomen, and antiliberal (though, curiously, he regarded himself as a German liberal).

The author does a good job in analyzing Treitschke's lifelong deafness as a factor in his general contempt for humanity. Running as a theme through this biography are repeated expressions of Treitschke's scorn for women: "Women being what they are, I can relax fully only in the company of kindred male souls"; the German conscience must be awakened from "effeminate despair"; fairy tale poetry is "effeminate"; "History bears virile traits, it is not meant for sentimental fools or for women." Treitschke's wife eventually broke down and was confined permanently to an institution. "I think she is now blaming me for her misfortune," said the dominating husband in all innocence. This aspect of Treitschke's personality merits much attention, as do his difficulties with his mother, his fear

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of his father, his belligerence, his anti-Semitism, his compulsion for work, and his fanatical nationalism.

When the philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey charged Treitschke bluntly with a dangerous confusion of history and politics, he hit at the core of an unhappy career. This fine book, the best yet published on Treitschke, makes it clear that those scholars who see in history a tool for personal prejudices and who seek to work politically through history (*durch die Geschichte politisch zu wirken*) do not deserve the honored title of historian: publicist, politician, propagandist—yes; historian—no.

City College of New York LOUIS L. SNYDER

THEODOR MOMMSEN UND DAS 19. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Alfred Heuss*. [Veröffentlichungen der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Universitätsgesellschaft, Neue Folge, Number 19.] (Kiel: Ferdinand Hirt. 1956. Pp. 288.)

NINE years ago a rather pathetic clause from Mommsen's last will of 1899 was published. It showed that one of the most highly praised savants of the nineteenth century, in fact an undisputed giant in his field, looked back not only with modesty but with misgivings upon his lifework in history and philology, for both of which, he felt, he was not really suited. He confessed that in his innermost being he had always been an "animal politicum" and wanted to be a "citizen." Having been a failure in this respect under German conditions, Mommsen tried to discourage posterity from busying itself with his individuality. In fact, he barred as much as he could the way to any biographical treatment.

Heuss does not attempt to tackle the formidable task of biography, in which L. Wickert is engaged, nor does he concentrate on the "animal politicum" or the political aspects of Mommsen's historiography, dealt with in a monograph by A. Wucher (Göttingen, 1956). His fascinating study combines a limited but very revealing biographical approach with an analysis of the interrelationship of the savant and the citizen. In its cogency, as well as its paradoxy, the study shows Mommsen to be a unique and at the same time a highly representative figure of the German nineteenth century. He does not belong, as the author convincingly proves, to the school of political historians, although by temperament he might have been more inclined to follow this path than anyone else. In fact, his *History of Rome* is thoroughly misunderstood if "Caesarian" leanings are read into it. Its hero is the aristocracy which Mommsen fought in daily life. Moreover, the Roman history, although his most popular work, was actually a by-product for Mommsen. It was the work of a very temporary stage in his intellectual growth, which climaxed in two entirely different directions, in systematic analysis (*Roman Penal Law* and *Roman Public Law*) and in pure "research." On the basis of this interpretation, the most discussed problem of Mommsen's life (that of the lacking fourth volume) is easily solved.

In line with arguments put forward by Toynbee and Collingwood, Heuss

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justly stresses the *non velle* rather than the *non posse,* i.e., the intellectual and sociological change in the second half of the century. In its course, Mommsen as a savant becomes the exponent of a bourgeois period with its mundane ascetics, its enormous and disciplined output of erudition, and its intensity and organizational problems similar to those of any other big enterprise in the economic or political field.

This typical combination of greatly expanding and strangely narrowing interests has its counterpart in the political field. Mommsen remains a "Forty-eighter" throughout his life, with an unusual urge for taking active part in public affairs. He is a most respected spokesman of the liberal left in the eighties, and his profound sense of social justice makes the freetrader eventually turn in the direction of F. Naumann. Yet in his bitter fight against the oppressive and materialistic degradation of ethical and national values, which he sees rampant in the late Bismarckian era, he is, in his own devotion to seemingly impersonal work, part and parcel of the underlying shift in the general climate. To put it briefly: he shares Burckhardt's criticism of the era after 1871 and yet is subject to the same criticism. Within this conceptual framework, which Heuss discusses in its full complexity, a wealth of information on problems of intellectual and political history is offered that should make the monograph rewarding for any student of the period.

University of Tübingen HANS ROTHFELS

WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE DEUTSCHLANDS IM 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERT. Band III. By *Heinrich Bechtel.* (Munich: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey. 1956. Pp. 488. DM 26.)

THIS is the concluding volume of a trilogy which seeks to throw light on the fundamentals of German economic development from prehistoric times to the twentieth century. The present book ends abruptly with the early 1930's; Professor Bechtel alludes to the Nazi regime but claims that "a reasoned discussion" of developments since 1933 "is not yet possible."

The impressive table of contents raises high expectations that are not borne out by actual performance. This *Wirtschaftsgeschichte* is not concerned with a historical analysis of the process of material progress. Instead, the author gives a thin narrative account of major economic events and innovations, which he tries to link to the course of general German history. There is much vague talk about *Geist* and *Stil* but little information about savings, investments, capital formation, or the fluctuations in prices, interest rates, costs, profits, output, employment, and consumption. The salient problems posed by the interrelations of these variables are not pointed up, let alone clarified. Unfortunately, the author does not seriously come to grips with the central theme of German economic history since the late 1830's—the revolutionary change-over to self-reinforcing economic growth per capita, the transformation of an "underdeveloped country" into a mighty indus-

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trial economy. In intellectual lucidity, command of the facts, and soundness of judgment, Bechtel's study does not stand up well in comparison with the less pretentious earlier work of Sombart, Sartorius von Waltershausen, and Clapham. And the more recent *Deutsche Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* by Friedrich Lütge, its dearth of concrete detail notwithstanding, proves superior in analytical skill and conceptual precision.

As the record stands, Bechtel deals primarily not with economic history but with the description of its conditioning general milieu. The bulk of the book consists of a rather trite survey of the changing legal, institutional, and political setting. Particular emphasis is placed on governmental policy and activity both in the domestic and the foreign field. The author is more original and more suggestive when he discusses the impact of the currents of thought in social philosophy, the social sciences, literature, and the fine arts and the shifts in group attitudes toward things material. Stimulated by some of the art historians, Bechtel's interpretive ambitions, as in his earlier works, are focused on the attempt to make his data more meaningful by asserting that they reflect a sequence of distinctive economic styles. These "styles," as presented, however, are too mystifying and too fanciful to serve effectively as keys to better understanding.

All indications are that the author is completely out of touch with the work done in the social sciences, including history, outside of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Significantly, his bibliography and his useful notes do not list, except for a single random item, any book or article that appeared in a non-German language during the past hundred years. Bechtel seems to be unfamiliar even with the studies of Benaerts, Bruck, and Clapham. Such a self-imposed boycott of the outside world, indicative of excessive national pride, is intellectual provincialism, pure and simple.

Brooklyn College HANS ROSENBERG

GESCHICHTE ZWISCHEN PHILOSOPHIE UND POLITIK: STUDIEN ZUR PROBLEMATIK DES MODERNEN GESCHICHTSDENKENS. By *Walther Hofer*. [Philosophische Forschungen, Neue Folge, Volume 6.] (Basel: Verlag für Recht und Gesellschaft. 1956. Pp. 185.)

DR. Hofer is a young Swiss scholar who has been teaching for several years at the Free University and the Hochschule für Politik in Berlin. His first book, published in 1950 under the title *Geschichtschreibung und Weltanschauung,* was a detailed study of the development and ideas of Friedrich Meinecke. The present volume, dedicated to the memory of Meinecke, contains six essays dealing with Meinecke's later work and with the relationship and synthesis of historical, philosophical, and political thought. Their point of view is determined by the problems which present-day German historiography faces. On the one hand, it is threatened by a revival of the nineteenth-century nationalism that drew its inspiration from the anti-Western enthusiasm of the "war of liberation" and from Bis-

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marck's victories; on the other hand lies the danger of the Russian Communist conception of history, which in the universities of the Soviet occupied zone of Germany has entered into a strange amalgam with German nationalism, having its origins also in the anti-Western "war of liberation" in which Russians and Germans fought side by side.

Hofer analyzes the reasons for the alienation of the German spirit from that of the West. He finds a principal cause for it in the fateful alliance of philosophy and politics dominating German historiography from the middle of the nineteenth century, an alliance of an idealistic philosophy and a Machiavellian policy. Nationalism, militarism, and imperialism assumed especially virulent forms in Germany because the German intellectuals rejected Western rationalism and claimed that Germany, living historically and geographically in a special situation, had the right to use special means to change the situation. Hofer rightly insists, however, that there are older German traditions much more akin to the liberal West, and if the Germans today understand history in a way different from that which dominated German thought in 1880 or in 1920, it does not necessarily mean that they are following foreign models; it may mean that they are returning to their own pre-Bismarckian traditions.

Every student of modern Germany will read Hofer's volume with interest and profit. It is written with vigor and with an understanding of political responsibility not frequently found among historians. The most important of the six essays deals with Meinecke as a political thinker and with the relationship of politics and ethics. Meinecke started as a typical Bismarckian nationalist. During his long life he witnessed what Hofer rightly calls *die ganze verhängnisvolle Geschichte des deutschen Menschentums von Bismarck zu Hitler hin*. Meinecke learned to reject the typical German acceptance and glorification of power and to view power with pessimism and distrust and thus, while recognizing its necessity, to avoid its demoniac impact. From 1918 on, Meinecke vainly tried to teach the Germans to grasp the reality of ethical factors in history. He was convinced that Germany's defeat in the war of 1914 was as final and irrevocable as the breakdown of the Bismarckian system.

Meinecke built a bridge between German and Western historical thought. Hofer, sixty years younger, is firmly rooted in the latter. In the last essay of the book he tries to define what he calls the *Hauptkennzeichen des westlichen Geschichtsdenkens*. Among these characteristics he includes the fact that Western historical thought knows itself responsible for the whole of mankind, that it cannot answer the question about the meaning and the future course of history with any absolute certainty, and that it regards liberty as a formative principle of the human personality and as a creative force in history. A sincere agnosticism regarding the meaning and ultimate secrets of history not only preserves the liberty of man; it also presents him with a task—the struggle for more liberty and humanity, for more justice and truth, a struggle which gives meaning to our existence and perhaps to history. These are ethical concepts not usually empha-

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sized in German historiography. At the end of his book, Hofer quotes the philosopher Karl Jaspers, who said that though we cannot know the future, the goal of history is unequivocal: liberty.

City College of New York HANS KOHN

GERMANY'S NEW CONSERVATISM: ITS HISTORY AND DILEMMA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Klemens von Klemperer*. Foreword by *Sigmund Neumann*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xxvi, 250. $5.00.)

THIS book performs several valuable tasks: it helps to clarify the fashionable but elusive term "conservatism," it provides a brief survey of German conservatism and its transformations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and it examines at length the tragic failure of a group of German Neo-Conservatives to cope with a spiritual and political emergency and to prevail against the formidable competition of fascist totalitarianism. Proceeding from the correct assumption that conservatism (like most isms) is really undefinable and must be viewed in its historical context, the author nevertheless succeeds admirably in explaining what he calls "the logic of conservatism." He then applies this logic to Germany and finds that here it did not remain true to its basic concepts. Becoming statist and nationalistic, the narrow orthodoxy of German conservatism prior to 1914 was incapable of coping with the forces of social change that resulted from Germany's sudden industrialization. But after thus becoming a stranger in its own country, German conservatism was given a second chance. The German Youth movement and the impact of World War I, by rejuvenating German conservatism, brought it "as close as it ever came to the ideal of a Tory democracy."

The "Neo-Conservative movement" that emerged from World War I, hardly deserving the term "movement," was a strangely assorted group—the "elders," Max Weber, Naumann, Meinecke, Troeltsch, Rathenau, and Thomas Mann, and the "young ones," Moeller van den Bruck, Spengler, Jünger, the *Tat* circle, the Strasser brothers, and others. Their task was to give a conservative foundation to the new German Republic. And here they failed. Professor von Klemperer carefully examines why and how they failed. There are some obvious answers: the exodus of the "elders" (through death or disillusionment), the failure of socialization, which changed these potential saviors of the Republic into critics and ultimately enemies, and the blow of Versailles, which strengthened the already prevalent nationalist and anti-Western attitude of German Neo-Conservatives. There certainly was no dearth of ideas and ideals among these Neo-Conservatives. In a period unique in its intellectual ferment, they surpassed all other groups in the fertility of their imagination and the ferocity of their arguments, until finally their aspirations became so irrational, contradictory, and complicated that the *"terrible simplificateur"* emerged as a welcome common denominator who might provide salvation from the nihilism of their intellectual uncertainty and

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who had the popular following which they as intellectuals (a term they hated) lacked. In showing that Neo-Conservatism and National Socialism were simultaneous movements that converged, rather than similar movements which succeeded each other, Von Klemperer makes a useful contribution to the often oversimplified story of Hitler's rise to power. Writing with a rare mixture of objectivity and compassion, he carefully refrains from wagging a finger. It can only be hoped that the neoconservatives in our own midst will give their attention to this fine book.

Johns Hopkins University HANS W. GATZKE

W STULECIE WIOSNY LUDÓW, 1848–1948 [On the Centennial of the Spring of Nations, 1848–1948]. Volumes I–V. Edited by *Natalia Gasiorowska*. (Warsaw: State Publishing Institute. 1948; 1949; 1951; 1951; 1953. Pp. 417; 502; 442; 394; 564.)

AMONG the publications appearing in the centennial year of the 1848 Revolution, this collective work by Polish historians is undoubtedly the largest, though not necessarily the most complete. Among the sixteen contributors to these five large volumes are a few well-known historians who have previously written on the mid-nineteenth century—S. Kieniewicz, A. Minkowska, J. Dutkiewicz, and the editor, N. Gasiorowska; there is also a host of relatively new names. While certain gaps existed in Polish historiography with relation to the "Spring of Nations," the main purpose of the publication under review is not so much to fill them but rather to seek in the Revolution of 1848 "the origins and the early stages of development of such socio-economic problems as play an essential role in our contemporary life." This could mean, of course, either a new reinterpretation of the Revolution by stressing its social and economic aspects, or a concentration on those specific issues directly relevant to the new Marxist reality. In fact, one sees in the volumes a gradual evolution from the first approach to the second. Simultaneously one notices, as he reads through these numerous essays, a tightening of the orthodox Marxist interpretation and an increasing use of Marxist terminology.

The first volume deals with the Revolution of 1848 as it appeared in various Polish provinces. Social and economic factors are emphasized but not unduly so, and the volume contains chapters prepared by specialists who draw mostly on their prewar writings. Certain parts discussing problems in Galicia, Silesia, or East Prussia and a chapter on partisan warfare introduce undoubtedly new elements. The chief weakness of the volume is absence of an all-embracing introduction, which could relate events in Poland to those abroad and discuss more fully the Polish emigration. The opening chapter, which supposedly provides the economic "basis," is not too closely related to the others and fails to perform this task. While not all the chapters maintain an equally high standard, the first volume is superior in many respects to those which follow.

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The object of the second volume is to analyze the various revolutions in Europe, and the introductory chapter written by a well-known Marxist historian, W. Kula, on "The Economic Background of the Spring of Nations" is clearly intended to offer a guiding light. The picture which Kula presents is, however, one-sided and greatly oversimplified. His thesis that the area in which the revolutions took place corresponds roughly to the sphere of influence of the Napoleonic empire is startling in view of the revolutionary events in the Habsburg monarchy, Sicily, and the Danubian principalities. His attempt to portray the events of 1848 in terms of a conflict between rising capitalism and the disintegrating forces of feudalism tends to obscure the differences between developments in France and in the rest of Europe. The chapters which follow raise equally serious doubts as to their objectivity. Probably the best is the chapter on France by Dutkiewicz. The essay on Germany and Austria is far less satisfactory, and the attached bibliography contains many gaps; no works on Czech and Hungarian events are included. These deficiencies are not remedied by a special chapter on German constitutional developments, a poorly written essay, repetitious, almost incoherent. Katz's contribution on England is not satisfactory either, and his bibliography omits such standard works as the *Oxford History of England* as well as basic books on chartism. A valuable though controversial addition to the volume is an analysis of the Parisian *Tribune des Peuples* in which Mickiewicz played an important part. The volume is liberally sprinkled with Marxist clichés.

A study of ideological trends constitutes the third volume of the publication. The authors examine here three currents of thought: Utopian socialism, which is approached from a strictly Marxist point of view; scientific socialism, which is described in uncritical and eulogistic terms; and the complex ideology of the Carbonari, Free Masonry, and Mazzini. The last chapter is highly interesting and shows the changing ideological scene in which clear-cut divisions and rigid distinctions can make little sense. The picture which emerges reminds us that the Revolution was after all largely the work of intellectuals, who often moved from one position to another and whose views were far less crystallized than one would have thought. The complexity so characteristic of the 1848 period largely disappears in the chapter on scientific socialism. The author, H. Katz, guided in his work by Marxist light, does not hesitate to declare that "the course of events of the revolution . . . is of secondary importance in comparison with the fact of creation and theoretical formulation of scientific socialism." Since this appears to be the unwritten motto of much of the third volume, one wonders less why Romanticism or Liberalism was not included in the discussion of ideologies; the emphasis has clearly shifted from a reinterpretation of all aspects of the 1848 Revolution to a discussion of issues which are directly "relevant."

This approach to the Revolution seems to determine largely the choice of revolutionary Polish figures discussed in the fourth volume. Not that the portraits of such men as Krepowiecki or Kamienski are without value or interest. The biographical essays, however, often lead to a general discussion of the Polish emi-

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gration in which people like Czartoryski or Mochnacki seldom appear and in which their names are almost anathema. The most exasperating chapter is that on Worcell, which is a repetitious, tendentious presentation, replete with Marxist terminology.

The fifth and last volume contains a selection of Polish documents and excerpts of revolutionary writings preceded by commentary. Much valuable material is assembled, except for the last chapter, which instead of providing the reader with selections from Marx and Engels degenerates into a harangue with quotations. The enthusiasm of the author, H. Katz, for the genius of Marx and Engels seems only equalled by his admiration for their great pupils, Lenin and Stalin.

Taken as a whole the publication is unevenly written and documented. Doubtless this is unavoidable in any collective effort—the Fejto publication, which also deals with the Revolution of 1848, suffers from the same weakness—but matters become worse by combining scholarly essays with journalistic propaganda. With ideological pressure on the Polish historian increasing after 1948, later volumes contain statements which stand in contradiction to ones made earlier. There is also a lack of uniformity in the volumes. Only one chapter has footnotes, and only one volume has an index. Each author has followed his own inclination in arranging a bibliography, and the manner of citing books and periodicals differs from one chapter to another. Chapters are only loosely knit together, and there is a fair amount of repetition. In none of the bibliographies does one find mention of Namier's *Revolution of the Intellectuals,* or Fejto's *Spring of Nations*—though Professor Kieniewicz has reviewed them both in Polish historical periodicals.

Despite the serious shortcomings, these volumes contain many interesting, new, and stimulating interpretations. A wealth of material has been brought together, and although reading occasionally becomes difficult the reader will find a considerable reward for his patience.

Indiana University PIOTR S. WANDYCZ

A HISTORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA. By *Georg von Rauch.* Translated by *Peter* and *Annette Jacobsohn.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1957. Pp. xiii, 493. $6.75.)

GEORG von Rauch is keenly aware of the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of making a history of Soviet Russia intelligible to a reader unacquainted with the antecedent history of Russia. Though he quite properly disclaims "the view that Russia's evolution toward Bolshevism was in any way predetermined," he emphasizes the need for a book that will not unduly "stress the evolution of the Marxist ideology . . . emphasize the foreign policy of the Soviet Union . . . or revolve around the lives of Lenin or Stalin." Unfortunately, these very items are once again the major themes.

Although he puts the question: "Is Russian Marxism a phenomenon that belongs to the great waves of Western influence or does it grow out of the Russian

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past?" Von Rauch does not offer an answer. He is content to preface his essentially unanalytical narrative of events since 1917 with a brief account of "revolutionary trends of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" and betrays no apparent perception of the fact that the only revolutionary ideology that "succeeded" did so at the price of abandoning its cherished principles and resorting to zigzag improvisations designed to retain power at all costs. For him, the writings of E. H. Carr offer such a "penetrating analysis" (a passage deleted in translation) that his own brief treatment of the revolution is reduced to a version that reads like a straight-line ascent to power.

A great weakness of this history of Soviet Russia lies in its almost total neglect of economic factors, an aspect of history for which the author seems to have small liking. Throughout, he makes only the most superficial references to economic phenomena and policies, usually in subordination to the international relations and personal power struggles on which he dwells at considerable length.

The author has a tendency to rely for his footnotes on gossipy or speculative sources, and his habit of omitting references at many points, even when quotation marks are used, suggests an excessive reliance on memory. What such practice can lead to may be instanced by his attribution to Zinoviev of Lenin's famous remark that "I would support Henderson by my vote just as a rope supports a hanged man." Von Rauch substitutes Macdonald for Henderson and thinks he is illustrating the Comintern's efforts to aid "the revolutionary ferment in England" in 1924, whereas he is actually citing advice to British Communists to offer electoral support to the Labour party in order to discredit its leadership and to shake the power of the Lloyd George coalition.

This book has benefited significantly by Von Rauch's earlier studies of federalism and of the nationalities problem. There are excellent pages also on certain ideological changes, particularly in the field of historiography. Many readers will appreciate the brief biographical sketches, of a type usually tucked away in appendixes or footnotes, with which Von Rauch interlards his treatment of more serious matters. The translation is highly competent and a marvel of compression, but one could wish that the publishers had done more justice to the author by careful proofreading and that the bibliography had not been inflated by inclusion of many American titles not listed in the German original.

The author's own summary is that this is "a dark chapter in the history of mankind," whether viewed "through the eyes of Berdyaev as a chastisement of mankind under the divine plan of salvation, or through the eyes of Toynbee as a challenge to the eternal creative forces of mankind to prove themselves anew."

Brooklyn College JESSE D. CLARKSON

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ISTORIIA SSSR. UKAZATEL' SOVETSKOI LITERATURY 1917–1952 GG. Volume I, ISTORIIA SSSR S DREVNEISHIKH VREMËN DO VSTUPLENIYA ROSSII V PERIOD KAPITALIZMA. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR. 1956. Pp. 724. 27 rubles.)

ISTORIIA SSSR. UKAZATEL' SOVETSKOI LITERATURY ZA 1917–1952 GG. Volume I, PRILOZHENIE. SKHEMA KLASSIFIKATSII. VSPOMOGATEL'NYE UKAZATELI. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR. 1956. Pp. 183. 10.60 rubles.)

This important work of reference is the first, in two parts, of a projected three volumes, the work of the staff of the Fundamental Library of the Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Although it does not claim to be exhaustive and is limited to works in the Russian language of interest to specialists published between 1917 and 1952, it lists no less than 18,825 monographs, articles, and book reviews for the period to 1861. The second and third volumes will deal with the "age of capitalism" (1861–1917) and with the Soviet period, respectively.

Although works in the minority languages are omitted, as well as textbooks and other publications intended for a wide audience, this is a most valuable aid to research. The bibliography is divided into seven parts, the first two devoted to historical aids and general histories and the remaining to chronological periods. The periodization adopted in 1955 for Soviet educational institutions is followed: (1) to the sixth century (2,666 titles); (2) the sixth century to the 1470's (2,666 titles); (3) the 1470's to the end of the seventeenth century (1,851 titles); (4) the end of the seventeenth century to 1801 (3,127 titles); and (5) 1801–1861 (4,806 titles). The proportion of titles demonstrates the continued interest of Soviet historians in the earlier period. The supplement provides a detailed table of contents, indexes of authors and editors and of personal, geographic, and ethnic names, and a list of over five hundred periodicals and anthologies.

It is worth noting to what extent this bibliography reflects the current party line as to who can be cited and who cannot. There are many titles listed under Lenin's name, but none under Stalin's. Characteristically, the "bourgeois" historians who had a hard time under the first five-year plan and were later rehabilitated are here in force. On the other hand, a number of historians, who considered themselves to be Marxists, led the struggle against their "bourgeois" colleagues, and were later purged in the 1930's, are missing from these pages. Among these, S. M. Dubrovsky, S. A. Piontkovsky, A. G. Prigozhin, and S. G. Tomsinsky deserve mention. Nevertheless, the omissions are not numerous, for the great majority of Soviet historians were able to adapt themselves to a party line that was patriotic at the time the purges were most severe. This work will doubtless become a standard reference and the logical starting point for the study of Soviet interpretations of the first thousand years of Russian history.

Princeton University C. E. Black

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American History

BRITISH ESSAYS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited by *H. C. Allen* and *C. P. Hill.* (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 348. $6.00.)

THE increasing importance of the United States is receiving the testimony of a greater interest by the English in American history. The day is now gone when American developments can be relegated to a couple of footnotes. American historians are now welcomed in England, even though they usually exhibit their wares in considerable privacy. English historians are concerned increasingly with the American scene as a factor of world importance. We American historians appreciate the implied compliment and are interested in the reactions of our cousins from across the Atlantic.

The present essays quite naturally stress heavily the connections between Britain and the United States, not only in political origins, in population composition, and in diplomatic relations but also in commercial and financial affairs. Other influences are minimized or excluded, creating a feeling of imbalance. Moreover, there is a tendency, possibly salutary to Americans, to indicate that English actions are almost always correct, while American actions are considerably more dubious. For example, British foreign policy is judged quite uniformly "realistic" while American foreign policy vacillates because of "unrealistic" considerations.

Over half of the present volume is devoted to political and diplomatic developments, including the Constitution, Hamilton, Jefferson, "Manifest Destiny," sectionalism, Reconstruction, radicalism, foreign policy, and modern American liberalism. Discussion of the last, dealing with the difficulties of the modern liberal in a two-party system, is original and stimulating. Most of the accounts rework very tired material, adding little of either fact or interpretation. They are spotted with dubious statements: e.g., that the "Virginia plan" was "revolutionary" (p. 7), that the "bloody shirt" was "all but buried" within ten years after the Civil War (p. 86), that American parties have "few paid-up members" (p. 87), that Jackson vetoed a new section of the National Road and thereby stopped federal aid to transportation for a generation (p. 120), that Pike discovered and mapped the sources of the Mississippi (p. 130), that Texas achieved independence in 1835 (p. 134), and that the "open door" notes advocated equality of all nations in China (p. 303). Quite surprising is a discussion of American political radicalism in terms of Jackson, Bryan, and Wilson. Certain generalizations seem questionable, such as those on the importance of slavery in the Constitutional debates (p. 12), on the noneffectiveness of the idea of separation of powers (p. 17), on the opposition to the Bank (p. 120), and on the attitude of the North toward slavery before the Civil War (p. 184). There is a notable emphasis on economic factors, e.g., the remark that "Congressmen go to Washington to get benefits for their constituents," followed by a clear statement that such benefits should be immediate and economic (p. 99).

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Essays not primarily political include discussions of the rise of commerce and industry, labor organization, immigration, and the military tradition. The last is particularly good. There is an essay on F. J. Turner, who is considered by several of the authors to be the best American historian. As a personal aside at this point, I am not happy about being quoted (p. 150) as presumably in support of a position I did not take; incidentally, my name is misspelled. There are many questionable statements within these sections also: e.g., that the first American canal was the Erie (p. 110), that New England girls did factory work for "pin money" (p. 116), that the rivers of New Jersey are fast flowing (p. 116), that the Lynn shoemakers of the 1820's worked under sweatshop conditions (p. 118), that the IWW worked primarily with immigrants (p. 268), and that working hours were cut in half for some Americans between 1860 and 1930 (p. 277).

The nature of the market for this book is uncertain. For scholars the collection lacks depth, balance, and accuracy, and this comment is made without reference to the obvious lack of balance inherent in any series of essays written by various authors. For the general reader the format is not very attractive, and most of the essays are packed with too many details to be interesting. The generalizations are stated so simply and concisely that in many cases they are hardly credible. For example, Republican strength before World War I is credited to the connection of the party with prosperity and big business, and these general concepts are based on aid to the railroads, the fortunes made during the Civil War, and the corruption of the Grant administration (p. 90). This particular argument is also a good example of the tendency to depend on simple economic causation. The collection's most probable usefulness is to professional historians who are interested in the British point of view. If this reviewer were asked whether the usefulness of the publication justifies its cost, his answer would be a regretful "no."

Dartmouth College ROBERT E. RIEGEL

SCIENCE IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: A HISTORY OF POLICIES AND ACTIVITIES TO 1940. By *A. Hunter Dupree*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 460. $7.50.)

THIS book, the result of a project sponsored by the National Science Foundation and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, fills a wide gap in the history of American science. Not since the days of George Brown Goode and his series of papers on the history of government science and on national scientific organizations, published by the Smithsonian Institution exactly sixty years ago, has there been such a thoroughly adequate treatment of the subject. In the meantime, of course, science has loomed into titanic and frightening importance, and the government's part in it has been increasingly great. Science today is a recognized national—even international—responsibility.

This was not so in Thomas Jefferson's time, when in order to obtain the government's support for the innocent science of the Lewis and Clark expedition

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he had to justify it under the pretext of "extending the external commerce of the United States." Such subterfuges for the sake of pure science have not been unknown even in our own day, but our education in such matters has come a long way. It took eight years, ending in 1846, for the United States Congress to decide in what manner it should dispose of James Smithson's bequest. In such a simple prescription as "the increase and diffusion of knowledge" many new concepts and unchartered paths were inherent for a neophyte government.

Thus the United States government's responsibilities to science were slow in being recognized, but once established they became part of the nation's intellectual tradition and were championed by many early government scientists and leaders. It was Mr. Dupree's difficult task to bring the threads of this complex story together, and he has done an admirable job. His treatments of the genesis and development of such federal scientific agencies as the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Academy of Sciences, the Geological Survey, and the Department of Agriculture are particularly illuminating, as are also his expositions of the work and influence of such leaders as Ferdinand R. Hassler, Joseph Henry, Alexander Dallas Bache, John Wesley Powell, Spencer Fullerton Baird, Charles H. Davis, and, later, John Shaw Billings, Gifford Pinchot, C. Hart Merriam, and Charles D. Walcott. The chapter on conservation is important because it shows how the demands of a significant national need (a "movement" to save the country's natural resources) found their readiest response in government science.

For the general historian Dupree's book will in many ways be a revelation. Political leaders such as John Quincy Adams, Jefferson, Lincoln, the two Roosevelts, and others appear in a new perspective in their concern with science. The American genius takes on a new dimension as the history of one pervasive aspect of our national life—science in government—unfolds in this scholarly, well-documented, and remarkably readable narrative.

It is unfortunate that the author had to end his story with the year 1940. Much has happened in government science since then; the whole atomic age has broken wide open. But that, perhaps, will be another book.

Smithsonian Institution PAUL H. OEHSER

IMPRINTS ON HISTORY: BOOK PUBLISHERS AND AMERICAN FRONTIERS. By *Madeleine B. Stern.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1956. Pp. 492. $7.50.)

IN this, her fourth book, Madeleine B. Stern has sketched the lives of more than a score of minor American book publishers who nonetheless played a significant part in shaping their industry and contributed in no small degree to the formation of nineteenth-century intellectual patterns and cultural tastes. The list includes James D. Bemis, "father of the Western New York press"; George W. Childs, "potential Napoleon of the book trade" and "moral heir of Benjamin

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Franklin"; Aaron K. Loring, Horatio Alger's first publisher; Horace B. Fuller, who employed Louisa May Alcott as a magazine editor at five hundred dollars a year and published one of her books without her knowledge; and others whose names will be familiar only to book collectors or specialists in the history of book publishing. Of the twenty-two publishers treated at some length in this volume, only five are given attention in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

Born in New York City and graduated from both Barnard College and Columbia University, Miss Stern is an associate of a New York rare book firm, who became interested in the printers and publishers of books through her association with the book trade. Several chapters of this work appeared originally as articles in *Publishers' Weekly* and other journals.

This volume makes no pretense of being a connected history of United States publishing. It casts informing sidelights on author-publisher relations, the business ethics of the nineteenth-century publishing world, the background of international copyright, the mistakes and failures of individual publishers, and a variety of other topics. Of particular interest to this reviewer was the story of how the Hilliard firm in Boston helped to build the libraries of Harvard and the University of Virginia; of the efforts, none too successful, of "Lord John" Russell of Charleston, South Carolina, to fill the publishing void in the ante bellum South; of the part that a west coast publisher, Anton Roman, played with Bret Harte in establishing the *Overland Monthly*. Mention is made here, almost for the first time, of James Redpath's career as a book publisher in Boston during the Civil War. Miss Stern takes note of the failure of other writers to deal with this little-known phase of Redpath's life, hazarding the opinion that the very versatility of his career is the likeliest explanation for this "startling omission."

Written in pleasing style, with introductions to each chapter skillfully creating the setting for what is to follow, *Imprints on History* reflects painstaking research and sound scholarship. Even so, one dissent must be entered in the record. Army correspondent James Redpath did not send the first report of the capture of Charleston to the North. Although Horner's life of Redpath appears to substantiate this statement, it was actually the Boston *Journal* correspondent, Charles C. Coffin, who scooped the nation's press with his account of Charleston's fall.

Chatham College J. Cutler Andrews

THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND WHAT IT MEANS TODAY. By *Edward Dumbauld*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1957. Pp. xv, 242. $3.75.)

In 1950 Mr. Dumbauld, a practicing attorney and a Jeffersonian scholar, published a useful book entitled *The Declaration of Independence and What It Means Today*. It was logical for him to follow it with this companion volume since, as he puts it, the Bill of Rights infused "the spirit of the Declaration of Independence . . . into the Constitution." The book has four parts: a rather prosaic

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but reliable account of the framing of the first ten amendments, a succinct review of recent judicial interpretation thereof, a brief hortatory chapter on "The Value of the Bill of Rights," and a series of documentary appendixes, including the texts of the amendments proposed in eight of the state ratifying conventions, the successive versions of the amendments as they passed through Congress, and an interesting tabular view of the sources from which the specific provisions embodied in the final document were drawn.

In his historical chapter, Dumbauld concentrates on what went on in the ratifying conventions and in Congress; he does not go into the story of political maneuver and propaganda as Robert A. Rutland did in his *Birth of the Bill of Rights* (1955). There is little that is new here except the suggestion that the constitutional amendments proposed by the dissentient minority in the Pennsylvania convention early in the ratifying process may have influenced other states in their demands for specific written guarantees of rights. The "What It Means Today" section is a schematic review of the major decisions of the Supreme Court over the past ten years in the field of civil liberties; here First and Fifth Amendment issues naturally bulk largest. Since the Bill of Rights, like the rest of the Constitution, is, as Chief Justice Hughes put it, "what the judges say it is," it obviously means something different, and something more, since June 17, when the Court handed down its decision in the Watkins case, than it did when Dumbauld wrote.

The copious footnotes make lively reading, for they contain many examples of the best judicial wit, especially the tart observations of Justice Robert Jackson, to whose constitutional views Dumbauld definitely leans. I have a minor cavil, though, about the footnotes—not, I hasten to say, the usual complaint of posterior location, for the notes are right where they ought to be, at the foot of the page. But is it necessary when a passage is adequately summarized or paraphrased in the text to quote it in full in a note? No doubt this is proper legal usage but to a mere historian it seems a work of supererogation and likely to prejudice our case with the publishers and the general public for what I might call the "liberty of footnoting." But this is perhaps *obiter dictum*. To sum up, lawyer Dumbauld has given us another useful book.

Swarthmore College FREDERICK B. TOLLES

THE BEEKMANS OF NEW YORK IN POLITICS AND COMMERCE, 1647–1877. By *Philip L. White*. With an Introduction by *Fenwick Beekman*. (New York: New-York Historical Society. 1956. Pp. xxxii, 705. $10.00.)

THE BEEKMAN MERCANTILE PAPERS, 1746–1799. Volume I, GERARD G. BEEKMAN: LETTER BOOK, 1746–1770. Volumes II and III, JAMES BEEKMAN: MERCANTILE CORRESPONDENCE, 1750–1799. Transcribed and edited by *Philip L. White*. (New York: New-York Historical Society. 1956. Pp. vii, 526; 527–981; 983–1485. $25.00 the set.)

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PUBLISHED by the New-York Historical Society with funds provided by the Beekman Family Association, the one-volume biography of the family and the three volumes of mercantile letters together tell an interesting story of a distinguished name among Americans from "the time of Peter Stuyvesant until the era of the Tweed Ring." The Beekmans, obviously Dutch, had fled before the middle of the sixteenth century as refugees from Protestant persecutions to England and elsewhere. William Beekman, founder of the family in the New World, debarked with peg-legged Peter Stuyvesant from the *Princess* in what was then New Netherland on May 11, 1647. The new governor, welcomed by the firing of cannon and the shouting of the few hundred colonists, became before long a staunch and not too gentle champion of the prerogatives of governors. Beekman, though for many years an office holder under Stuyvesant and at times somewhat subservient, took up the cause of defending the rights of the people. Thereafter—certainly until the Revolution—the name stood forthright among those who defied tyranny. It stood, too, on the rolls of the landowners and those who traded and sold over the earth.

The Beekmans of New York is indirectly a story of the trials involved in building the province and the city of New York and the part of the great Dutch families in that enterprise; basically, it is a series of more or less brief biographies of the outstanding Beekman men. Four (William Beekman, 1623–1707, Henry Beekman, I, 1652–1716, Gerardus Beekman, 1653–1723, and Henry Beekman, II, 1688–1776), since they were primarily concerned with politics, are emphasized as public servants; three (Gerard G. Beekman, 1719–1797, Dr. William Beekman, 1684–1770, and James Beekman, 1732–1807) as merchants; and one (James William Beekman, 1815–1877) as a philanthropist. All, however, were active in many fields. Eleven of the book's twenty chapters are devoted to the three merchants, and only one each to the public servants. These four, in spite of their occasional vacillations and inconsistencies, were fascinating individuals. William, the founder, was praised and damned by Stuyvesant with equal facility and was often plagued by gossip. Henry built up his land holdings and sometimes rode both horses in the political controversies of the day. Though he and his wife were later to swear that he had been misled, Gerardus was an important enough follower of Leisler to be arrested with that leader and several other of his lieutenants and sentenced on April 17, 1791, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. In the vagaries of the politics of his day, he was eventually pardoned and rose to the position of acting governor of the province. The second Henry was a member of the assembly for a third of the eighteenth century. He defended the freedom of the individual in many instances, including that of Peter Zenger.

Neither in politics nor in trade did the course of the Beekmans run smoothly. In the former, they opposed corruption and condemned both the arbitrary governors and the radical protesters, but they were not always consistent. In the latter, they were men of integrity, but they indulged in privateering a few times, smuggled occasionally, and were not above gleaning a few dollars in the slave

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trade. Yet through the years, whatever their occupations, they were solid and substantial citizens of New York.

The Beekman Mercantile Papers are devoted exclusively to commercial correspondence and, according to the editor, make up the largest single publication of business letters of the period. These letters supplement the biographical study of the three merchants included in *The Beekmans of New York*. Students of business history will be grateful to the Beekman family, to the New-York Historical Society, and to Dr. White for making available such a rich store of material. Historians, sociologists, and many others will find much of value in the general volume, *The Beekmans of New York*. There is some repetition, and one cannot expect expertness on every subject the Beekmans touched through the years from colonial times. The task has been very well done.

Temple University JAMES A. BARNES

THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEM: THREE ESSAYS. By *Joseph Charles*. Foreword by *Frederick Merk*. (Williamburg, Va.: Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1956. Pp. 147. $2.50.)

THESE posthumously published essays made up of chapters selected from a Harvard Ph.D. thesis on the party origins of Jeffersonian democracy constitute a provocative, if at times intemperate, antifederalist interpretation of the administrations of Washington and John Adams. The *bête noire* of these studies is Alexander Hamilton. Mr. Charles draws up a lawyer's brief against the brilliant and facile Secretary of the Treasury, stressing isolated and often disconnected incidents in that statesman's career, such as his pro-British proclivities at the time of Jay's Treaty, his implied support of fiat money in 1795, and his alleged willingness to disregard the proper electoral procedure in 1800. This highly selective, and by no means representative, evidence serves to buttress the author's thesis that Hamilton wanted government by and for the privileged class and the speculators, that he was essentially opposed to democracy, and probably to republican government. Charles throws out dark hints and suggests that Hamilton's fundamental views and objectives did not really change between 1787 and 1800 but were concealed most of the time behind a mask of calculated misrepresentation.

Since Hamilton was Washington's prime minister and quickly asserted a dominant role in the cabinet, the author can be expected to have little respect for Washington as President. He portrays him as a sick, tired, old man, a puppet manipulated by the master. Along with Hamilton, Washington must share responsibility for the appearance of the party system, Charles argues. But perhaps the President was not fully aware of the implications of his actions. "An aged military hero who symbolizes national unity and independence becomes one of the most dangerous figures possible to representative government if he gets into the hands of a group who protect with the magic of his name whatever furthers their ends, and then use the denunciations of him which follow as a further politi-

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cal weapon" (p. 52). Although this quotation might fit the administration of Von Hindenburg better than that of Washington, it quite fairly epitomizes the author's approach.

We wish that Charles had been willing to submit to careful analysis Hamilton's constructive achievementes in fiscal management, public credit, and taxation and his contributions to the interpretation of the constitution. But these matters are shoddily treated. Even Hamilton's integrity justifies the author's darkest doubts. "A conspicuous integrity was indispensable for the part he wished to play in the new government," he suggests (p. 36). We can well imagine what he would have said if the evidence had shown that Hamilton personally benefited by the funding operations.

The author is much more sympathetic to John Adams and suggests that the differences between Adams and Jefferson were relatively minor. He defends Adams' willingness to make peace with France, certainly one of the high points of his administration, and suggests that Adams' break with his party was the result of his inability to rally public opinion to his side. Jefferson's assertion of leadership of the antifederalist party comes rather late, according to Charles. In fact, he dates Jefferson's open leadership from the period of agitation over Jay's Treaty, which he considers crucial in the development of the party system. In that struggle Hamilton showed more adroit party leadership than Jefferson, the author concedes, but a type of leadership that was to prove fatal to the federalist party.

From Claude Bowers to Joseph Charles seems an inevitable progression. If this provocative and often acute, though strangely partisan, treatment of men and issues can stimulate the new generation of American historians to undertake a reappraisal of the Hamilton-Jefferson era with depth and objectivity, it will have served a useful and, indeed, a necessary purpose.

Columbia University RICHARD B. MORRIS

JAMES K. POLK: JACKSONIAN, 1795–1843. By *Charles Grier Sellers, Jr.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 526. $7.50.)

JAMES K. Polk, the President, is well known to history, but his earlier years as a Tennessee politician and Speaker of the House of Representatives have attracted little attention. Professor Sellers, therefore, has had practically a virgin field to cultivate. The author is peculiarly well fitted to deal with his subject, for he is not only a careful investigator and talented writer but also a native of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, where Polk was born. One of my firm convictions is that the historian should be able to understand and even to sympathize with the people or peoples of whom he writes, but there is a danger that such a student may fail to see the weaknesses of his subject. It is therefore greatly to Sellers' credit that he has been able to take a completely unbiased attitude. He has extenuated nothing nor "aught set down in malice." It is obvious that he has great respect for Polk, but he has not attempted to paint him as a strikingly origi-

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nal or magnetic personality, or as a political leader of the first rank. During the period under consideration, Polk appears rather as an intelligent plodder and faithful follower of Andrew Jackson, even when he did not agree with him.

Scion of a prominent pioneering family, Polk understood the problems of the frontier and was an early advocate of the democratic movement of which Governor William Carroll was the champion in Tennessee. Later, however, following his hero, he turned against Carroll. This executive, who has never received his due from historians, was in 1823 opposing the special privileges granted to private banking corporations and the undemocratic features of the existing constitution of Tennessee. At the same time, his opponents, Felix Grundy, John Overton, and John H. Eaton, were cynically grooming Andrew Jackson as a candidate for the presidency in order to obtain some local political advantage. Between Jackson and Carroll, Polk had a hard row to hoe, but he, being both a practical and honest man, managed to stay in the Jackson camp without sacrificing his conscience.

After a ten-year struggle, Carroll was able to bring about the adoption of a constitution which provided for the taxation of land according to value, rather than at a uniform rate per hundred acres, and for the election of county officials by the people instead of by the legislature—a democratic victory for which neither Jackson nor Polk could claim any credit. The occasion was celebrated in Nashville by a dinner in Jackson's honor, and although the arrangements committee omitted the usual toasts, because of the tense political atmosphere, they could not avoid toasting the President. He responded with a pledge to "the true Constitutional currency, gold and silver coin"; but Carroll had anticipated him even here!

Americans, even American historians, must have a colorful hero, and Andrew Jackson supplies this need in accounting for the second great step in the progress of our democracy. But the movement was well under way before "Old Hickory" appeared on the scene, and it would have developed if he had never heard of it. History is more easily visualized in personal terms, but personalities do not account for its development. This is especially true in the case of "Jacksonian" democracy. Unfortunately, Sellers, who is so completely objective in the case of Polk, has accepted without question Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s uncompromisingly partisan interpretation of Andrew Jackson. History is not always written without prejudice even by those who claim to monopolize the liberal tradition. The author does not deny the fact that Jackson entered Tennessee politics as a protégé of the great and unscrupulous land speculator, William Blount, but he passes lightly over Jackson's own speculations and his close connection with the conservative Overton faction in the state. And he does not seem to think it significant that neither Jackson nor Polk assisted Governor Carroll in his fight for a liberal constitution for his state or that Tennessee turned against her own hero before the end of his administration. Until these matters are squarely faced and explained, the border captain who became a great President cannot be accepted as a consistent and disinterested idealist. It is to be hoped that some day Sellers will

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scrutinize Jackson's early career as closely and dispassionately as he has that of James K. Polk and pay more attention to what "Old Hickory" actually did and less to what he said.

University of Virginia THOMAS P. ABERNETHY

THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION: SLAVERY IN THE ANTE-BELLUM SOUTH. By *Kenneth M. Stampp.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. xi, 435, xiii. $5.75.)

THIS volume is a revisionist interpretation of Negro slavery in America. Sustained by an enviable command of the secondary studies, extensive research in manuscript collections, and new insights gained from a mastery of cultural anthropology and social psychology, Mr. Stampp marches to the fray with conviction and eloquence. The line of attack was foreshadowed by the studies of W. E. B. DuBois, but Stampp's conclusions rest on new evidence and are persuasive and original.

In ten sparkling chapters the book details and illuminates every aspect of slavery. The author writes from the point of view that "innately Negroes *are,* after all, only white men with black skins, nothing more, nothing less." Slavery is viewed not as a method of regulating race relations, not as an arrangement that was in its essence paternalistic, but as a practical system of controlling and exploiting labor. How the slaves worked, how they resisted bondage, how they were disciplined, how they lived their lives in the quarters, and how they behaved toward each other and toward their masters are themes which receive full exploration. The chapter "Between Two Cultures" is especially penetrating if somewhat subjective. Slavery does not emerge as a transitional phase on the road to ultimate freedom but "merely took away from the African his native culture and gave him, in exchange, little more than vocational training." The chapter on "Profit and Loss" casts valuable new light on the economics of slave labor and sustains the view that "the critics of slavery who argued that the institution was an economic burden to the master were using the weakest weapon in their arsenal."

Stampp's work will inevitably be compared with U. B. Phillips' monumental study, *American Negro Slavery,* published in 1918. As Professor David Potter has well observed, both authors agree on the major elements to be studied but they disagree on every question of emphasis. Phillips saw the plantation system as paternalistic and manorial; Stampp sees it as exploitative and commercial. Phillips regarded the masters as decent and benevolent; Stampp regards them as harsh and exacting. Phillips saw the slave as content and loyal to his master; Stampp sees him as discontented and suspected of being disloyal to his fellow slaves if he were loyal to his master. Phillips regarded the plantation as having a constructive value in introducing the slave to the Christian religion and the social institutions of Western Europe; whereas Stampp regards the system as static,

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leaving the slave as unprepared for freedom in 1865 as he had been in 1665. Both authors employ a relativistic concept of history and are inclined to read present interests into past events. Phillips never freed himself completely from the childhood preferences that led him to change his first name from Ulysses to Ulrich when he learned that Ulysses was synonymous with damnyankee. Stampp occasionally relies on colorful and telling illustrations selected from the autobiographies of fugitive slaves although acknowledging these tracts were frequently ghost written by abolitionists.

Stampp's main lines of argument are bound to provoke controversy. "Southerners did not create the slave system all at once in 1619; rather, they built it little by little, step by step, choice by choice, over a period of many years. . . ." In the process the climate was a negligible factor and the "use of slaves in southern agriculture was a deliberate choice (among several alternatives) made by men who sought greater returns than they could obtain from their own labor alone, and who found other types of labor more expensive." Meanwhile, in the Northern states "slavery did not long survive the social upheaval which was part of the American Revolution. Not because slave labor was unprofitable, but because they were given no choice, northern slaveholders accepted a domestic application of the principles which had justified resistance to British authority."

If slavery was built "choice by choice," what of the futile efforts of the Southern colonies to outlaw the slave trade in the eighteenth century only to have the proposed restrictions disallowed by the English government in the interest of the traders? It is certainly important to look at slavery through the eyes of the Negroes, but it is equally important not to apply twentieth-century value judgments to the nineteenth century in the process. Is the technique of drawing no distinction of time and place a valid one? Stampp assumes a remarkable stability of the institution through many decades and through a huge region. Perhaps the seeming stagnation of the institution was an image projected by stereotyped discussions of slavery; perhaps the things to be said about slavery (pro or con) remained stable while the institution itself did not.

It should be noted that *The Peculiar Institution* is a superb piece of literary craftsmanship. The materials are handled with imagination and verve, the style is polished, the factual evidence is precise and accurate. Some scholars will disagree with the conclusions. No one can afford to disregard them.

University of North Carolina FRANK W. KLINGBERG

FICTION FIGHTS THE CIVIL WAR: AN UNFINISHED CHAPTER IN THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By *Robert A. Lively*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 230. $5.00.)

HISTORIANS and literary critics, Hervey Allen once observed, generally regard the historical novel as "a kind of mule-like animal begotten by the ass of fiction

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on the brood mare of fact, and hence, a sterile monster." But Professor Robert A. Lively, of the Princeton University history department, believes that this species of subliterature can offer insights into the working of the popular mind. The very mediocrity of most historical fiction may make it representative. "Historical novels are a popular ceremonial record of the mysteries that unify us as a people," Lively thinks, and to document his belief he has examined some 512 novels dealing with our American Civil War.

Fiction Fights the Civil War is Lively's entertaining analysis of this "sluggish stream" of historical fiction. Dealing necessarily with "novels by the gross," he has first classified their authors, then summarized their principal themes, and finally analyzed their historical methods. His conclusions on all these matters are "frankly subjective." Since Civil War novelists include, among others, six college presidents, a gynecologist, a private secretary to President Lincoln, and two bankers, Lively is forced to conclude that "the writing of such works is a labor that might be visited on anybody." After identifying "ten basic themes" which "embrace most of the books that have been written about the war," he honestly admits that: "Few precise findings . . . reward systematic effort to isolate any 'dominant' themes or to categorize authors according to their interpretations of the war experience." The changing historical interpretations used in Civil War novels appear "to be a result of changing literary standards, rather than of changing historical views," and Lively notes, with Hillaire Belloc, "how little [scholarship] is sufficient for the man who has the right kind of genius, and how much remains quite insufficient for the man who has it not." It is a bit hard, therefore, to see how Lively's own findings entirely justify his contention that the study of historical fiction can lead to the "systematic knowledge of the public mind" or that "a descent to analysis of mass reading seems an urgent task for scholarship."

Fiction Fights the Civil War is an interesting and well-written monograph, which does offer some interesting observations upon sectional modes of thought. Lively perceptively observes that Civil War novels written by Southerners differ in more than historical bias from those written by Northerners. The Southern author is more likely to be concerned "with the generals and top-level strategy"; his Northern contemporary, "with private soldiers and personal experiences." The best Southern war novels emphasize, "more than any other southern trait, the importance of family"; the best Northern fiction, "uncommon men, usually out of step with their society." The difference here, as Lively sees it, stems from the fact that the Southern writers have "a static memory of something complete, something finished, and they have conceived it their duty to raise fitting monuments to selected portions of its history." But Northerners, to whom the Civil War was by no means so shattering an experience, "have felt obligated to haul out the ashes of victory—a chore they have undertaken with intensive and realistic self-criticism."

Contrary to popular opinion, the South has not won in fiction a war it lost

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in fact. Of Lively's 399 novels for adults, "216 express a northern point of view, while 183 adhere to the Lost Cause." As to the quality of the novels produced by the two sections, Lively, a Southerner who teaches in the North, remains discreetly noncommittal: "The issue is still joined." His own entertaining commentary and, best of all, his judiciously selected list of the thirty best Civil War novels will allow readers to draw their own conclusions.

Columbia University DAVID DONALD

GENERAL GEORGE B. McCLELLAN: SHIELD OF THE UNION. By *Warren W. Hassler, Jr.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 350. $6.00.)

THE continuing fascination of the military history of the Civil War threatens to turn half of the human population of the United States (the female of the species seems largely immune to the contagion) into a nation of Monday morning generals. Perhaps no commander of that war offers a more tempting target to second guessers than the creator and best loved and most controversial leader of the Army of the Potomac. Some critics have contemptuously charged him with timidity, tardiness, insubordination, and even of having sought a stalemate rather than victory. Others have held that he may well have been the ablest commander produced by the war. It is with this group that Dr. Hassler, in the clearest delineation of McClellan's campaigns yet made, takes his stand. He does not deny the basis for the adverse charges, but he counterbalances each of them with persuasive evidence. Although McClellan persistently and ridiculously overestimated the numbers of the enemy, he nevertheless went ahead with offensive operations of surpassing skill and rarely failed to divine properly the enemy's tactical capabilities and intentions. When the need was acute, he could think and act swiftly. His Napoleonic proclamations to his men suited their taste, however much they might nauseate present-day soldiers, and even the insulting communiqués which he on occasion sent to Washington followed in each case almost intolerable provocations.

The bulk of the book is devoted to the Peninsular and Antietam campaigns. It is the author's contention that with the sort of support and freedom of decision that his superiors owed him, McClellan, whatever his deficiencies, would almost certainly have taken Richmond in the late spring or early summer of 1862, that his army would not have been left astride the White Oak Swamp—like a man entangled in a barbed wire fence—for Lee to attack in the Seven Days Battle, and that he would in all likelihood have destroyed Lee at Sharpsburg. As it was, his army, seldom much superior in numbers on the field, habitually inflicted more casualties than it received, whether on the offensive or defensive—a phenomenon that rarely occurred under his successors.

It is, in effect, Hassler's contention that the mistakes of the President and the Secretary of War in their treatment of McClellan were responsible for unneces-

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West rather than as individuals, and about the transformation they have made in the region.

The rise of the tourist industry began with the completion of the first transcontinental railways. First to come to see the American West were the aristocratic Europeans. Then came the wealthy Americans, who no longer found Saratoga sufficiently exclusive or attractive. Riding "Palace Pullmans" westward and enjoying the sylvan wilderness in such places as the Hotel del Coronado (San Diego, 1884) and other European-style structures, the post-Civil War aristocracy found the West just like the East, only more so. After promoters, especially those connected with the railroads, rediscovered the Spanish missions and the Southwestern Indians and after Westerners had built their own chain of resorts, the organized tour was born. Then, as the standard of living was raised, the tourist industry moved from an aristocratic to a mass phenomenon, with the help of the automobile, the tourist sleeper, and the airplane. Western communities began to entice tourists with rodeos, museums, and pageants, with ski resorts, divorce mills, and gambling establishments. The tourists of this new invasion became important to the economic life of a vast region, although the author makes no attempt to assess this except in a general way.

Now that the masses have taken over the Golden West, can the West remain "Golden"? This seems to be the central question asked in the book. Professor Pomeroy, who is a native of California and a resident of Oregon, holds that the modern tourist has eyes that do not see as he rushes through the mountains and deserts. Although the uniqueness of the Old West—reliving pioneer experiences—is gone, Pomeroy believes that nature will remain unspoiled, if we can but see it. Perhaps he agrees with the late Aldo Leopold, who said that the future of recreation lies not in building more roads into inaccessible places but in "building receptivity into the still unlovely human mind."

Wisconsin State College, River Falls WALKER D. WYMAN

DAKOTA TERRITORY, 1861–1889: A STUDY OF FRONTIER POLITICS. By *Howard Roberts Lamar*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 64.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 304. $4.50.)

THIS useful monograph explores the labyrinth of territorial politics during an important but curiously neglected period in our national history. With a wealth of detail, often secured from fresh sources, Mr. Lamar analyzes the political history of Dakota Territory as a case study of the impact of physical environment upon political behavior. The story is told within an interpretative framework that challenges many widely accepted assumptions of frontier history.

Government and politics played the major roles in shaping the territory's development. Pioneers quickly learned that their prosperity rested upon the rate of government spending, whether for railroads, for Indian annuities, or simply for public officials. Their land titles, their transportation systems, and their political

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status depended upon government sponsored programs. Little wonder they came to regard political action as the key to their welfare.

Familiar political controversies agitated this frontier community. Sectional rivalries within the Assembly, struggles over location of the capital, wrangles over railroad legislation, disputes about Indian policy, and campaigns for statehood made Dakota politics a cockpit for personal ambitions and partisan jealousies. Businessmen and politicians joined in the ruthless search for speculative advantage as an economic oligarchy organized to control the political life of the territory. All this is related within a broad framework, both historical and conceptual, and the analysis lays a firm foundation for understanding the political crusades launched by Dakota farmers in later years.

But Lamar is on uncertain ground when he seeks to explain many of the phenomena he describes. Considerable confusion, for example, follows from the failure to resolve the dilemma posed by an increasingly imperialistic federal policy and local territorial policies that became more particularistic. Again, the concept of metropolitanism is implicit but never clearly presented. The importance of using local government for economic advantage is amply demonstrated, but the role of government spending in the economic growth of this "underdeveloped" region is defined only in the conventional vocabulary of political patronage and economic legislation.

Those sympathetic to local control of political affairs will find little comfort here. Indeed, without tempering his judgments by comparison with the problems in frontier areas under centralized systems of authority, Lamar vigorously deplores the growth of the "absurd fetish" of popular sovereignty. Equally dubious is the thesis that the frontier's "fine disregard" for theoretical divisions of power in government led to a breakdown of the democratic process. On top of considerable evidence that challenges this conclusion, there is also the fact that democratic processes may well operate outside the narrow institutional limits posited in the assumptions of this book.

Hiram College PAUL F. SHARP

A HISTORY OF CHICAGO. Volume III, THE RISE OF A MODERN CITY, 1871–1893. By *Bessie Louise Pierce*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1957. Pp. xii, 575, xxxvi. $8.50.)

PROFESSOR Pierce begins the third volume of her monumental history of Chicago with one of the most important episodes in the city's history, the Great Fire of 1871. The task of rebuilding after that giant tragedy unleashed among the community leaders forces of energy and optimism that persisted through the two decades embraced within her story. Endowed with a "supervoluminous civicism," they set out to fashion a city that would be the biggest and best in all the world. The result was breath-taking, for in the next twenty years Chicago added 150 square miles to its territory, increased its population from less than 300,000 to

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more than 1,000,000, and shed "most of the aspects of small town life that had persisted" down to 1871. The triumphant climax of their efforts was the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 with which Professor Pierce concludes this volume. Yet throughout those years the city "retained the crudity and bristling energy of a place only recently emerged from the frontier," and this explains its history as truly as the wild-eyed visions of its civic boosters.

Chicago was a city of contrasts and conflicts during those formative years, and these provide the theme that Miss Pierce develops so magnificently. There a civic-minded mayor such as Carter Harrison could be consistently reelected by voters who had been purchased for as little as one drink of whiskey; there the homes of the fashionably elite along Prairie Avenue stood almost shoulder to shoulder with miserable slums; there temperance workers who entered saloons to pray were showered with tobacco juice by men who helped build Hull House; there outdoor privies and the sewer-clogged river were allowed to persist through the 1880's by a municipal government that adopted a forward-looking program to deal with public transportation and utilities; there many business leaders scorned culture—"Pork, not Plato, has made Chicago," one remarked—while others founded the art museum and the symphony orchestra and fashioned the beauty of the Columbian Exposition.

But Professor Pierce has done more than capture the spirit of this rambunctious city in her exciting prose; she has written a case study of the changing American social order in one of its periods of greatest mobility. In Chicago, as in few other cities, the turbulence accompanying industrialization and urbanization was pin pointed. The bitter conflicts between capital and labor that racked the nation in 1877 and 1886 can be better understood by reading the story of the Chicago warfare than by perusing whole volumes of more generalized accounts, just as the impact of the Darwinian hypothesis on the public can be appreciated through this careful survey of the city's press reaction and the influence of religious modernism on the ministry can be personalized in the analysis of the changing curriculum in the Chicago divinity schools. These instances could be multiplied endlessly. No historian of the era has interests so obscure that he would not learn much of his own subject on Professor Pierce's pages.

She has accomplished this marvel by writing not one but dozens of books, then compressing their essence into the pages of one volume. This becomes clear by a glance at her staggering array of footnotes. On every subject—the grain or lumber or livestock trade, banking, labor disputes and the Haymarket Riot, the changing functions of government, religion and humanitarianism, the shifting patterns of society and culture—she has lavished such infinite pains that the result is virtually definitive. This careful research raises questions concerning the completion of the series. Professor Pierce devoted eleven years to the preparation of the first two volumes of her history; on the third she has labored seventeen years. This may be explained partly by the complexity of the period with which she has dealt and partly by the embarrassing riches of research materials. These problems

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will also beset her in preparing the fourth projected volume, which can be completed only with adequate support from foundations and the profession. It is fervently to be hoped that this will be forthcoming; to end the series at this point would be to deny future generations a work of meticulous scholarship that may well stand among the greatest historical contributions of our age.

Northwestern University RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN MAGAZINES. Volume IV, 1885–1905. By *Frank Luther Mott.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xvii, 858. $12.50.)

WHEN Dean Mott brought out the first volume of his *History of American Magazines* more than a quarter century ago, it was at once apparent that if he could last the course he would produce a canon, perhaps even a masterpiece, of American historiography. Now, in spite of the demands made upon his time by teaching, administration, and the authorship of a number of other books—including a standard history of American journalism and a history of best sellers—not to mention posing for Grant Wood's portrait of "the booster" in an illustrated edition of *Main Street,* he has advanced a deep bridgehead into the twentieth century. With a relatively level road ahead, except for the challenge of such phenomena as the *New Yorker, Time* and other entries of the Luce stable, the *Reader's Digest, Esquire,* etc., he would seem to be approaching his goal. From our time on the story may be expected to be one of anticlimax and general decline punctuated by a few daring, perhaps desperate, innovations and experiments.

The present volume deals with the period that was in many respects the Golden Age; nationally advertised merchandise and technological advances were both well developed, but competition from automobiles, the movies, radio, and television for the reader's time and the advertiser's dollar was still largely hidden in the future. Mott's story has more facets than a crown diamond, but one theme predominates—the rise of mass appeal publications selling for a small coin that could, nevertheless, offer something in both content and appearance infinitely superior to earlier magazines that depended upon mail order advertising like that to be found in the trashier publications on today's newstands.

This volume follows the organization that proved its utility in its predecessors. The first half is devoted to a discussion of general trends and categories. The second offers brief profiles of thirty-four chosen magazines, ranging alphabetically from the *Andover Review* to *World's Work* and in type from the mass appeal *Ladies' Home Journal, Literary Digest, McClure's* and the *Saturday Evening Post* (with its attenuated connection with Benjamin Franklin) to the little *Black Cat, Reedy's Mirror* (literary cradle of Edgar Lee Masters), Elbert Hubbard's *Philistine,* and *Brann's Iconoclast* (the attacks of which led to the death of the editor and his murderer in the same instant). The high domed *Sewanee Review,* the scandalous *Town Topics,* and "chi chi" *Vogue* keep close company in these

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pages. As in previous volumes, magazines are treated here if they first achieved prominence in this period, even if they were begun earlier, and the story is carried to the present or to the time of demise. An odor of ultimate failure hangs over most of these accounts; the small number still surviving points up the mortality that seems to be a special characteristic of the genre. More than any other institution, American magazines made it possible for American authors to make a living in spite of competition from the books of English authors. Will the newer forms of public enlightenment and entertainment be able to boast as much? In spite of a bulk that rules it out as hammock reading and a tightly condensed style, this book once opened is as hard to put aside as a volume of the encyclopedia or a bag of peanuts.

George Washington University WOOD GRAY

WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON: A STUDY IN PRACTICAL POLITICS. By *Leland L. Sage*. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1956. Pp. xiv, 401.)

William Boyd Allison is a new volume in the admirable series that the State Historical Society of Iowa has been publishing about that state and its leaders. It has all of the customary virtues of the other books in the series: careful research, clear writing, and cautious interpretation.

William Boyd Allison began his political career in the House of Representatives in 1863 and ended it as a member of the United States Senate in 1908. During that long period he was always a leader of considerable importance, rising to the level of a serious candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1888. His period of greatest power was after 1897 when the seniority system, together with his quiet ability, made him a dominating force in the Senate.

The basis of the study is the voluminous Allison correspondence in the Iowa state department of history and archives at Des Moines. The papers of other Iowa political leaders have been exploited, as have papers of national significance in the Library of Congress and other depositories. The range of investigation has been both broad and deep in the manuscripts and the scholarly investigations of the era. The writer's point of view is that of Iowa politics more than national affairs, but the latter are also involved. If the writer is not completely expert in national politics, he more than makes up for it by his mastery of the intricacies of Iowa history.

The story is told that it was once suggested that if a piano keyboard were built long enough to extend from Washington to Allison's home in Dubuque, the Senator might walk the entire distance on it without striking a note. This cautious quality of his leadership is only suggested by this study. Perhaps it was overdone by his contemporaries; the author may have a more accurate balance. Certainly his is a far from uncritical account of Allison's career. It will be a useful volume for everyone interested in the political history of the post-Civil War period and

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will probably be the standard biography of Allison, for our generation at least.

The State Historical Society of Iowa deserves commendation for its activities in the publication of sound biographical studies, thereby encouraging scholars to undertake them. Few state leaders, even of Allison's importance, have sufficient popular appeal for a commercial publisher to venture publishing their biographies. Because of the Iowa Society's enterprise, Iowa's leaders are better known and its history better studied than those of other states.

University of Missouri ELMER ELLIS

JUSTICE OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES: THE SHAPING YEARS, 1841–1870. By *Mark DeWolfe Howe*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 330. $5.00.)

IN this volume Professor Howe seeks to interpret the influences that shaped the attitude and temperament of Holmes, rather than his achievements. Daily events recorded in diaries are available for the years covered by this volume. For these two reasons this period in the jurist's career is regarded as suitable for separate treatment. His family and Harvard College background, his experiences in the Union army, his Harvard Law School training, European travel, and apprenticeship at the bar constitute the themes treated. The author's apt use of sources other than Holmes documents and his extensive comments on the panorama portrayed are thorough and intelligent.

"In Holmes's published works," Howe states, "he has told us very nearly all that we shall ever know with certainty of his convictions. He was careful to destroy all papers within his control which recorded those events and moods that he considered private. It is clear, I think, that he thought it none of our business to know more of his life than he chose to make public. . . . As a consequence, my responsibility has been primarily that of interpreting his published writings."

The author does much more than discharge this limited responsibility in the present volume, but this reviewer (being a devotee of Holmes's pithy witticisms and pungent phrases) believes that Howe would have rendered a greater service if instead of the three hundred pages of interpretation here presented he had added an equal volume of unpublished Holmes material to the corpus available for "interpreting." Three valuable collections of Holmes correspondence have already been published under Howe's able editorship, but there is apparently still a considerable mass of unpublished Holmes manuscripts in the Harvard Law School library which Howe's footnotes show he has utilized. Perhaps he has given the substance of all that is not chaff or repetitious of items elsewhere published; but would it not be useful to have, for example, the full text of Holmes's letters to the Baroness Moncheur, Mrs. John C. Gray, Clara Sherwood Stevens, and Felix Frankfurter (to mention a few of the correspondents cited in the footnotes)? Such letters, it would seem, are not interdicted as being "none of our business," and many readers, though grateful for Howe's guidance, would wel-

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come the undiluted opportunity to cogitate upon the utterances of Holmes himself.

Howe interestingly portrays the emotions of the young soldier, who, although an abolitionist, had a low opinion of Lincoln and was doubtful regarding the chances of Union victory. Desire to "do his duty handsomely" as a chivalrous gentleman maintaining the *esprit de corps* of his regiment, rather than faith in the cause for which he fought or the religious consolations of conventional orthodoxy, fortified Holmes as he endured the hardships of warfare. Also, as he wrote to his parents: "It was the thought of you dear ones sustained me in terrible trials." After serving three years and being wounded three times, Holmes concluded that it was no longer his duty to remain in the army and resigned.

Another striking picture is that of Holmes as a young lawyer engaged in "leg work" for the Shattuck firm in Boston. He made two trips to the railroad station to attach cars of the New York Central Railroad in order to institute a wrongful death action arising in New York. Later this litigation gave Holmes the opportunity to argue his first case in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. He lost, but later as a member of that court he took part in undermining the authority of that decision, and it was ultimately overruled.

Readers of this initial volume will await with eagerness the progress of the biographer's task as he moves forward into the period of achievement, where Holmes sought to "touch the superlative" and "wear his heart out after the unattainable."

Uniontown, Pennsylvania EDWARD DUMBAULD

HARLAN FISKE STONE: PILLAR OF THE LAW. By *Alpheus Thomas Mason.* (New York: Viking Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 914. $8.75.)

EVERY scholar interested in Supreme Court history must read this book. Its enormous value consists in the rich and unique sources which Professor Mason has exploited. He had unrestricted access to all of Stone's private and public papers, including "a formidable mass of Supreme Court documents—slip opinions in various stages of preparation, memoranda to and from members of the Court, and Stone's own record of the manner in which certain crucial decisions were hammered into shape."

"The freedom thus permitted," writes the author, "has been balanced by a corresponding responsibility," but readers will have to decide for themselves whether Mason has exercised this responsibility wisely. The problem is comparable to a case in which there is a question of the propriety of using relevant and illuminating evidence. Every sitting Justice has now been forewarned to plan for the judicious disposal of his papers. Yet the fact that this book reads at times as if it should have been subtitled *Inside the Supreme Court, Confidential* accounts for its substantial contribution to our knowledge.

Although Mason fully covers Stone's life, nearly three fourths of this huge

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volume depict in valuable depth his twenty-one-year career on the bench. His pre-Court years, which were of slight public significance, are of interest chiefly for the light they shed on the development of his social and legal views. But the light is dimmer than it should be, for Mason's powers as an intellectual biographer are stronger in narration than in analysis. We are shown, for example, that Stone, who in 1915 was the soul of jurisprudential orthodoxy, recognized by 1923 that sociological jurisprudence was not subversive; but his change of mind is hardly explained. Neither is it clear why he quickly aligned with Holmes and Brandeis despite his early attraction to Chief Justice Taft's conservative majority, which he was expected to join, and despite Taft's assiduous efforts to woo him—the evidence on that point is fascinating. Intimate association with Holmes and Brandeis no doubt had its effect upon Stone, as Mason stresses, but what predisposed him to ally with them?

The sources of Stone's thought and action after he had come to maturity as a judge in the 1930's are more clearly shown. But it is only at scattered points that Mason even notes the ambiguities in Stone's constitutional jurisprudence. Stone came to understand the subjectivity and legislative nature of judicial review, and he believed that the Constitution must be adapted to changing social conditions; but at the same time he excoriated those who read their "own" policy views into the Constitution and he insisted upon judicial self-restraint, although he abandoned it in certain civil liberties cases. Mason's treatment of Stone's jurisprudence has deficiencies because he writes as if he sees only with Stone's eyes and therefore sees astigmatically.

Indeed, the distinguishing characteristic of this book, aside from its value as source material, is the remarkable degree to which the author becomes his subject's uncritical alter ego. Stone's opinions are almost invariably right. In civil liberties cases, for example, depending upon his position, he is hailed either as a champion of personal liberty or as a wise exponent of self-restraint and a defender of national security. Witness also the role assigned Hughes as the villain of the book. Stone, jealous and distrustful, nursed a variety of grievances against him and concluded that he was hypocritical and unprincipled, a judgment which Mason accepts against available evidence to the contrary. Mason's thrusts at Hughes recall to mind the injunction: "When you strike at a king you must kill him." Perhaps to raise Stone's comparative stature, Mason even disparages Holmes and Brandeis, although he rests his case for Stone's greatness on the claim that the latter possessed Holmes's self-restraint and Brandeis' empiricism. Mason also resorts to double standards of judgment to exalt Stone. His exercise of self-restraint is always praiseworthy, but Holmes's is criticized. Stone is commended for refraining from sweeping generalizations, but the same practice by Hughes is held paralyzing to a broad construction of the Constitution.

That the book is subject to criticism does not derogate from its great interest and value. It is incomparably superior to anything in the literature for its elaborate examples of how an opinion in the making runs the gauntlet of intramural

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evaluation and amendment before winning a majority consensus and how individual positions are altered in the process. It is also the fullest portrayal thus far of the dilemmas and achievements of the Court after the constitutional revolution of 1937. What Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall* is to the Court's early history, Mason's *Harlan Fiske Stone* is to its contemporary history. Indeed the two books exhibit similar strengths and weaknesses and are comparable in many ways. They share their subjects' respective biases and are Gargantuan in scope, heroically researched, lushly detailed, skillfully written, and full of bold, even exasperating, judgments.

Brandeis University LEONARD W. LEVY

THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM. By *Theodore Draper*. [Communism in American Life Series.] (New York: Viking Press. 1957. Pp. x, 498. $6.75.)

UNTIL Mr. Draper's volume appeared, the early history of American Communism was gleaned essentially from three sources: Communist party sponsored histories which subordinated fact to myth, histories written by Communist-haters who unhesitatingly altered facts to accommodate their own particular biases, and memoirs and biographies which tended to place personal justification or hero-worship ahead of historical accuracy. Draper's book, the first in a series of studies on the influence of Communism in American life, is remarkable for the author's scholarly detachment, his mastery of left-wing dogma and tactics, and his incisive analysis. It sets a high standard for subsequent volumes in the series.

In many respects this first volume, which traces the history of the Communist movement from 1919 through 1923, presents the greatest methodological and interpretative difficulties. The author has had to show how American Communism had roots in a native radical tradition, even though it came into existence full-blown out of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. He has had to relate events in America to those in Russia and to indicate how Communism "as a new expression of American radicalism" became transformed into "the American appendage of a Russian revolutionary power." And he has had to establish the basis for internal Communist conflict during the subsequent decade, the struggle between sectarianism and opportunism.

The American Communist nucleus of 1919 consisted primarily of left-wing socialists and ex-syndicalists. Contemptuous of parliamentary politics and orthodox trade unionism and frustrated by their own failures and by government persecution, these radicals were literally intoxicated by the Bolshevik success in Russia. The Bolsheviks had proved that the social revolution was possible and, more important, that it could be achieved by a small, dedicated minority. Little wonder then that the Bolshevik model became the blueprint for American revolutionaries.

The Comintern quickly took charge of the infant American Communist movement, partially because it was the only organization capable of crushing the fac-

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tionalism that actually disrupted the movement more than the Palmer raids, and partially because American Communists themselves desired it. The latter wanted a supreme body to tell them what to do. They did not look on the Comintern as an instrument of the new Soviet Union but rather as the heart and soul of international Communism; the Comintern was the Party.

The Comintern's price came high. In 1919 the American Communists organized themselves after the Bolshevik pattern, as a small, ideologically pristine conspiratorial group divorced from bourgeois politics and trade union activities. Here they were not far removed from the traditional position of the extreme left in America. But within three years Lenin, sensing that the revolutionary wave was receding in the West, held that the Bolshevik technique in Russia was inapplicable to Europe and America. Consequently, the Comintern abruptly changed its line from rigid sectarianism to "mass action" opportunism, the infiltration of existing trade unions—in the United States, the hated AF of L, and the entrance into legal political action by means of labor parties. Though this violent change of policy caused the first great crisis amongst American Communists, the Comintern had its way. Initially, on occasion, American Communists had shown a spirit of independence and even defiance of their Russian mentors. From here on, they became their puppets.

Draper's introduction bears reading by all persons interested in historical method, for it touches on the peculiar problems confronting the historian of Communism. He has written informative vignettes of such early American Communist leaders as Reed, Fraina, Lovestone, Cannon, Foster, Browder, Minor, Eastman, and Wolfe. Finally, he deserves congratulations for not once using that loaded cliché "Atheistic Communism." It is a commentary on the book.

University of South Carolina HOWARD H. QUINT

AMERICAN RADICALS: SOME PROBLEMS AND PERSONALITIES. Edited by *Harvey Goldberg*. (New York: Monthly Review Press. 1957. Pp. x, 308. $5.00.)

THIS is a collection of essays on fourteen American political and social radicals, with an introductory essay on American radicalism by the editor. The personalities discussed are, with the exception of John Brown, from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Included are studies of John Jay Chapman, Theodore Dreiser, Heywood Broun, Henry D. Lloyd, La Follette Senior, John Brown, Altgeld, Debs, Vito Marcantonio, William Haywood, Daniel De Leon, Walter Weyl, Thorstein Veblen, and Charles Beard. Two additional essays on "renegade radicals" and antiradicalism round out the collection. From the men chosen for the roster of radicalism, it is evident, as the editor states in his introduction, that the intent of the collection is to consider no one particular brand of radicalism but rather to suggest "the richness and variety, the resources, the individuality, as well as the dilemmas of the radical past."

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Skillful editing succeeds in unifying the rather diverse group of personalities and themes involved in this cooperative effort, and the contributors themselves have recognized the value of fitting their individual essays into a coherent pattern. It is unfair to single out those which seem particularly outstanding, though John Lydenberg's piece on Dreiser, Melville Bernstein's on Chapman, William Williams' on Beard, and David Herreshoff's on De Leon were most interesting to this reviewer, chiefly for their freshness and pertinence. Goldberg's and Williams' chapters on the backgrounds and problems of American radicalism form a well-reasoned, perceptive introduction, built around the thesis that American radicals are "thinkers and doers who set themselves in opposition to the dream of an ever-expanding frontier," thus reversing the Turner thesis. The American tendency to believe that the solutions to contemporary problems may be found in economic, ideological, or political expansion, they believe, has created a unique set of limitations on the American radical tradition. In addition, the native radical has encountered from the beginning an established pattern of hostility to sudden, unorthodox innovation that has diverted or frustrated much of the radical's energy. The fourteen examples included in this collection are representative of those who, in one way or another, successfully or unsuccessfully, remained in opposition without conceding defeat or turning tail. While some may flinch a bit at bracketing La Follette, Beard, De Leon, Haywood, Altgeld, and Marcantonio together in the same tradition, the juxtaposition is nevertheless provocative. This is a stimulating collection, intelligently conceived, written, and edited.

Michigan State University R. B. Nye

OPPONENTS OF WAR, 1917–1918. By *H. C. Peterson* and *Gilbert C. Fite*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 399. $6.00.)

At the time of his death in 1952, Professor Peterson left several manuscript versions of this book. Selecting what he considered the best of these, following roughly its organization, but rechecking, rewriting, and "adding important changes in emphasis and interpretation," Professor Fite has produced what he describes as "a somewhat new and different presentation" in which he assumes responsibility for final decisions. His aim has been "to present a synthesis" that would show "what individuals or groups opposed the war, why they acted as they did, and what happened to them." The adversaries of these people naturally come in for a good bit of attention, and the emphasis falls upon what they did to their victims.

Disclaiming any pretense at exhaustiveness and admitting that more intensive study is needed for some aspects of the subject, the authors nevertheless contrive by sampling and selective illustration to fulfill their objective in a satisfying and even impressive way. All the major groups that opposed the war, the Socialists, the pacifists, religious sects, conscientious objectors, and the IWW's, are treated, together with numerous minorities such as the Negroes, sundry labor and farmer

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organizations, and various aliens, who were victimized by the same oppression merely because they were vulnerable and unpopular with the oppressors. Aggression against moderates who did not oppose the war but tried to defend those who did is also taken fully into account. In addition, some effort is made to describe the heedless attack upon the freedom of the press, the movies, the stage, public school teachers, college professors, and the clergy. While the book deals largely with nonconformists, it deals also with conservatives, even some very respectable conservatives, "who displayed an intemperance that would do credit to the wildest of radicals" and who behaved at times "as if they were inhabitants of the Balkans."

This study makes it plain that the more revolting types of political oppression and brutality, commonly thought to be peculiar to the police state and associated with particular nations and particular political systems, were abundantly prevalent in the enlightened American democracy under a progressive and idealistic President. Political prisoners of the state, both men and women, were subjected to calculated starvation, inhuman tortures, and sadistic brutality. Books were burned, classrooms and churches invaded, homes ransacked and gutted, presses wrecked, courts intimidated, meetings broken up, and speakers beaten. Mobs with patriotic names took over communities and countryside, looting, burning, beating, and lynching. Freedom of speech was seriously defined by a judicial opinion handed down in that era as "criticism which is made friendly to the Government, friendly to the war, friendly to the policies of the Government." Thus defined, freedom of speech flourishes in all the police states.

The authors show plainly that they are not in sympathy with the actions they describe nor with the philosophy by which such actions were justified. They go further than that and in a final chapter on "The Value of Freedom" contend that "freedom of speech has to mean the right to express wrong views, and stupid views, yes, and even evil views." They point out further that "present laws and actions . . . show a close relationship to the situation in World War I" and that "this type of thinking is all too prevalent in mid-twentieth-century United States."

Johns Hopkins University C. Vann Woodward

THE AGE OF ROOSEVELT: THE CRISIS OF THE OLD ORDER, 1919–1933. By *Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1957. Pp. xiv, 557. $6.00.)

Thinking, perhaps, of James Harvey Robinson's *The New History,* published in 1911, Carl Becker once observed that "so long as hope springs in the human breast the 'new history' will be a recurring phenomenon." Certainly few close observers will doubt that the techniques of history writing have changed markedly in recent years; probably they would agree also that the book under review provides an excellent example of the way our "new historians" have chosen to write. Just what are the new requirements? First of all, it is no longer enough to be read

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by the professionals; the new historian seeks to reach the multitudes, to command the interest of all who have the wit to read a serious book. To this end he must write with verve and vigor, know how to make the most of every dramatic possibility, and be able to exploit the reader's appetite for suspense. Secondly, he must range well beyond the customary political, economic, and social complex of events to include also the ideas that gave rise to these events or grew out of them—intellectual history, to accept the current terminology. Thirdly, he must have an eye to what bearings his findings may have on the present and, "as long as hope springs," on the future. To quote Becker again: "The past is a kind of screen upon which each generation projects its vision of the future."

To accomplish all this requires gifts of a high order, not to mention an infinite amount of hard work, and Schlesinger measures up to the requirements. Fortunately, the historian need no longer pretend in his writing a degree of impartiality he cannot possibly feel; the more honest way is for the author to let his readers in on his opinions. But this does not mean that he is free to cut loose from his evidence. He may, as Schlesinger often does, adopt an impressionistic style and let a few vivid details represent many more, but he must choose his samples fairly. Above all, he must still buttress his work with evidence. The footnotes may, as in Schlesinger's book, become extremely ample back notes, but they must be there, or somewhere, to prove that the writer has used and not misused the appropriate documents.

The present volume is the first of a series of four designed to cover the history of the United States during the whole period of Franklin D. Roosevelt's political career, but most particularly from the end of World War I to the end of World War II. In line with the new expectations, it opens with a prologue, Inauguration Day, March 4, 1933, and then follows with a series of spectacular flashbacks to Populism, Progressivism, World War I, the Age of Normalcy, the first years of the Great Depression, and finally the arrival of Franklin D. Roosevelt on the political scene. Schlesinger has no notion that the New Deal sprang full-grown from anybody's brain but seeks its origins in such native American manifestations as the New Freedom and the New Nationalism; when he finally introduces the New Deal, one can foresee that it will walk in on legs and not on stilts. He tends to support rather than to counter the findings of D. R. Fusfield's *Economic Thought of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (1956) and Bernard Bellush's *Franklin D. Roosevelt as Governor of New York* (1955), and he will have few occasions to quarrel with his colleague, Frank Freidel. But he has chosen a broader canvas than any of these and has left few subjects pertaining to the times untouched.

It takes no great perspicacity to discover that Schlesinger has little use for the business leaders who so completely shaped the political and economic decisions of the 1920's and by their folly brought on the Panic of 1929. On them he quotes Herbert Claiborne Pell of Hopewell Junction, a Hudson Valley neighbor of Roosevelt's.

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The destinies of the world were handed them on a plate in 1920. Their piglike rush for immediate profits knocked over the whole feast in nine years. These are the people, who with an ignorance equalled only by their impudence, set themselves up as the proper leaders of the country.

As for today and tomorrow, Schlesinger says nothing, but only an unusually obtuse reader would fail to fathom his thoughts. The rulers of the nation's destinies in the 1920's did not mean to kill the goose that laid the golden egg (to shift from pork to fowl), but they did it in spite of themselves. Their successors, who are now in equally high command, no doubt have pretty clear ideas on how to avoid the mistakes of the 1920's. But yesterday is not today; the problems that we must now face are infinitely more complicated than those that almost destroyed us in the 1920's. Have our present leaders the wisdom to avoid the hair-curling adventures that, given a few missteps, might lie just around the corner? Who knows?

University of California, Berkeley JOHN D. HICKS

THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND FOREIGN POLICY: THE MAKING OF THE JAPANESE PEACE SETTLEMENT. By *Bernard C. Cohen.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the Center of International Studies. 1957. Pp. x, 293. $6.00.)

IN this able case study of the political process involved in the formation of American foreign policy, the negotiations leading to the peace settlement with Japan are analyzed with the aim of developing a theory concerning foreign policy making. The author has chosen to examine the major elements relevant to this process of treaty making: the general climate of opinion, articulate citizens and political interest groups, the media of mass communication, agents or agencies of the executive branch, and specific committees and informal groups of the two branches of Congress. Separate chapters are devoted to each of these elements, and two additional chapters examine the relationship between "Public Opinion and Government" and "Bipartisanship and Executive-Legislative Relations."

The most conspicuous characteristic of the whole process of making this treaty was "limited interest, great speed and restricted discussion." Public indifference, poor press coverage, and restricted public debate lead the author to conclude that the course of the treaty settlement "ran rather close to the deep shadow of oblivion." Even the hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were "quickly scheduled, meagerly announced, and rapidly conducted." The absence of a major issue and consequent low interest make most of the factors selected for analysis relatively unimportant in shaping the treaty. On the other hand, the uncomplicated nature of these same factors in this instance affords a clearer look at the process of policy formation. It accentuates the importance of the executive branch in the making of the treaty and sets the stage for the major actor in this drama.

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Mr. Cohen makes clear that the success of the treaty settlement is largely attributable to the skill of John Foster Dulles. As a prominent Republican called into the State Department by a Democratic administration in answer to demands for bipartisanship, ex-Senator, well-known Protestant layman, foreign expert, and presidential agent, as well as State Department representative, he enjoyed enormous, almost unique, advantages in carrying out his specific assignment. With this prestige and power, and a manifest talent for diplomatic negotiations, Mr. Dulles was able, with minor adjustments, to win over to his views the other signatory nations and to gain the firm support of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The success of his roving missions to the Far East (four in eighteen months) doubtless encouraged the approach he has since followed in the conduct of American foreign policy. As a contrast to the lack of public interest in the treaty settlement, the author has added an interesting chapter on a "case study within a case study" to show how a single interest group, the fishing industry, exerted a marked influence on the conclusion of the North Pacific Fisheries Convention shortly after the signing of the treaty.

Historians, although less committed to the development of theories than political scientists, will turn with profit to this well-written book for its analysis of the forces at work and the steps leading to the conclusion of an important treaty. The author has fully utilized congressional records, government documents, newspaper accounts, and interviews with leading American participants, including Mr. Dulles. As a method for the systematic study of the complex process of the formation of foreign policy, this case analysis is both successful and suggestive. But of greatest immediate value is the light it casts on the possibilities of bold and imaginative leadership in foreign policy making and, more particularly, on a relatively unheralded but most successful chapter in the personal career of the Secretary of State.

Northwestern University Roger F. Hackett

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

A STUDY OF HISTORY. By *Arnold J. Toynbee.* Abridgement of Volumes VII–X by *D. C. Somervell.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 414. $5.00.) This is an extremely clear and accurate compression of the last four of Toynbee's volumes; it renders just under 2,700 pages in a little over 400, well over 1,000,000 words in under 180,000. The structure reproduces Toynbee, except occasionally in matters of proportion and in rare omissions of special developments of argument. Toynbee's sectional, subsectional, and most sub-subsectional titles (but nothing further) appear with the slightest of changes so that cross reference between the compression and the original is always easy. The style is much simpler than Toynbee's even though it uses all Toynbee's technical terms and contrives quite often to use phrases and sentences taken directly from the original. The book is consequently very readable. On the whole, it is a better piece of work than the abridgement of Toynbee's first six volumes. It is a little bolder in suppression of detail, and it can thus be a little more leisurely in treatment of what it retains. Whatever others may do with the book, for the historian—and for his students—it is essentially a guide, and an excellent one, through Toynbee's monumental work. At the end, there is a thirty-eight-page guide to the guide, entitled "Argument," which maximizes the book's usefulness. It should not be used professionally as anything but a guide, for, while all Toynbee's doctrine is there, most of its application to particulars is not, and could not be. There is, in fact, a tendency in the book to drop erroneous examples and distortions which appear in the original, and, as a result, Toynbee comes off a little better than he deserves. At the same time, most of Toynbee's incidental insights and critical studies of the work of earlier scholars disappear too. These appeared, for the most part, in his "Annexes," and the Annexes are entirely absent.

RUSHTON COULBORN, *Atlanta University*

OM ÅRSAKSPROBLEMER I HISTORISK FORSKNING: FORSØK PÅ EN VITENSKAPSTEORETISK ANALYSE [Problems of Causation in Historical Research]. By *Ottar Dahl.* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. 1956. Pp. 204.) Historical causation has constantly perplexed all social scientists. Ottar Dahl's analysis, being in Norwegian, will escape many Americans, although a convenient and excellent summary in English contains the essentials of his argument. Dahl takes the long way around. Starting with semantics, he categorizes meanings and explains historical research, reaching his central problem in causal categories, historical confirmation, and possible laws of causation. As to his main task—defining and separating concepts of historical causation—Dahl finds only a negative conclusion, stating that little likelihood exists for empirical tests for some general laws of causation. Most historians must continue to blunder along with intuition, guesses, and a cowardly method of "letting the reader judge for himself," after piling evidence sufficiently deep. Dahl illustrates his analysis from writings of major Norwegian historians of the past fifty years. For an American reader, these quotes are too brief and too frequently repeated, but his experi-

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mental application of social science techniques erases this complaint. His excellent bibliography and sources convey an implicit lesson, for only a bare handful of works can be cited on historical causation authored by historians. This is a hard book to review. It is thought provoking and stresses to good purpose the utility of social science methodology. It drives home the historian's incapacity or unwillingness to seek and analyze new concepts or general rules. It is no comfort to realize that Dahl is unique in Norway, or that in America he would find most comfort among the social psychologists, sociologists, and philosophers he so frequently quotes.

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN, *Occidental College*

SPIRITUALISME ÉRASMIEN ET THÉOLOGIENS LOUVANISTES: UN CHANGEMENT DE PROBLÉMATIQUE AU DÉBUT DU XVI[e] SIÈCLE. By *Jacques Étienne*. [Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis, Series III, Tomus 3.] (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts. 1956. Pp. xxvi, 201. 160 fr. B.) That religious change was generally in the air in the sixteenth century is clear enough, and historians of the period have generally tended to focus on its innovations. The result has often been, however, to neglect the considerable and respectable conservative forces of the period, especially within Catholicism, and to examine only a section of the spectrum of opinion. The particular value of Étienne's work lies in its effort to examine a wider range of religious attitudes than is usually presented through a study of the impact of the spirit of innovation on the faculty of theology at Louvain. The theologians of Louvain were closely identified with traditional Christianity and prominent in the ideological struggle with Protestantism; yet they were also in close contact with new currents of thought, and in some cases evidently responsive to them. The first section of the book deals with the innovators as represented, inevitably, by Erasmus and, since the men of Louvain expressed themselves chiefly through anti-Lutheran polemic, by Luther. Although Étienne is here covering familiar ground, his presentation of the thought of Erasmus and Luther is sensitive, precise, and admirably clear. The second part of the work is concerned largely with the writings of Jean Driedo and Jacques Latomus, who led the Louvain offensive against Lutheranism. The author finds significant differences even between these champions of orthodoxy. While Latomus was intransigent and scarcely less hostile to Erasmus than to Luther, Driedo shared the emphasis of Lutherans and Christian humanists alike on the spiritual predicament of the individual, sympathized with the Biblical scholarship of the humanists, and avoided attacks on Erasmus. Throughout the book Étienne is interested as much in the attitudes and values underlying doctrinal positions as in formal dogma, and his work thus emerges as a contribution both to the history of theology and to the history of Christian piety.

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA, *University of California, Berkeley*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1939. In five volumes. Volume II, GENERAL: THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND EUROPE. [Department of State Publication 6407.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1956. Pp. vii, 911. $4.00.) One of the 1939 volumes in the well-known series of diplomatic papers prepared by members of the staff of the historical division of the Department of State, this is largely devoted to negotiations with the various governments of Europe and the British Commonwealth. The general papers dealing with the outbreak of the war in Europe were published in Volume I. Half of those printed here relate to such matters as Antarctic claims, the regulation of fisheries, and problems of international trade. The other 105 pages devoted to general affairs concern attempts to solve the very serious refugee problem created by Nazi

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persecution of the Jews. The story they tell is one of delay and frustration; the American government sought to promote a program of mass settlement, particularly in the Portuguese African colony of Angola, while the British and French were reluctant to encourage the establishment of large blocs of immigrants which might soon present further problems of nonassimilation on the Palestine pattern. The change in world opinion and American feeling resulting from the occupation of Prague is strikingly reflected in the sections covering negotiations with individual governments. In the early months of 1939 American officials were making vain protests to Berlin on discriminatory treatment of our citizens because of religion or race (especially pp. 574–79); they were turning deaf ears to appeals from the dying Spanish Republic to match the Axis aid to Franco (pp. 717–18, 728, 739). But one week after Hitler's fateful occupation of non-German Czechoslovakia President Roosevelt told the Italian ambassador (pp. 620–22) that in the event of a general European war our neutrality legislation would be promptly changed and that America's great productive capacity would be used to oppose the aggressors. The numerous references in this noncontroversial volume to documents not printed (e.g., pp. 558, 563, 567–69, 573–74) should remind those who complained about omissions in the earlier collection on the conferences at Malta and Yalta that without this standard editorial practice the publication of this series, already lagging most regrettably, would be practically impossible.

MARSHALL KNAPPEN, *University of Michigan*

LIGHT AND ENLIGHTENMENT: A STUDY OF THE CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS AND THE DUTCH ARMINIANS. By *Rosalie L. Colie*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 162. $3.75.) The Dutch Arminians (Remonstrants) and the Cambridge Platonists maintained an informal alliance against such contemporary extremists as Descartes, Hobbes, and Spinoza. Although earlier the Platonists had been heavily indebted to Jacob Arminius and his followers, in the late seventeenth century the Remonstrants, Phillipus van Limborch and Jean Le Clerc, profited more from the works of Ralph Cudworth and Henry More than conversely. Especially enlightening are the chapters dealing with the attempts of Arminian and Platonist to find a liberal theology based upon freedom of the will and to reconcile reason and religion. "The similarities between the Cambridge Platonists and the Remonstrants were not only theological and political, they were philosophical as well . . ." (p. 49). Both were inconsistent in their arguments, and both unwittingly contributed to deism and materialism. Miss Colie's scholarship is sound; she has read widely. At times her sentences are charming, but the book could stand technical improvement. She assumes too much on the part of her reader. People are not always identified when introduced, and sometimes rare and obsolete words are employed without clarification. Nevertheless, Miss Colie has made a real contribution to our knowledge of Anglo-Dutch cultural exchange in the seventeenth century. She renders an additional service by calling attention to large areas in the field yet to be ploughed.

JOHN J. MURRAY, *Coe College*

THE ALLIED BLOCKADE OF GERMANY, 1914–1916. By *Marion C. Siney*. [University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, Volume XXIII.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1957. Pp. x, 339. $6.50.) This book is a painstaking and successful attempt to study the Allied blockade of Germany as a vast system of economic warfare. A subsequent volume, Dr. Siney tells us, will complete her study through 1919. Refraining from indulging in polemics over legal issues, she examines the blockade as a system of trade controls resting in part on tra-

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ditional belligerent rights, in part upon agreements with the border neutrals (the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden) and with private business firms that were subjects of the neutrals, in part upon the exercise of sovereign rights over persons and property under Allied jurisdiction, and in part upon considerations of pure policy. Differences in method and approach between the British and the French are also given attention, although naturally the operations of the former are the principal object of her study. At the beginning the British did not know how they would cope with the indirect trade of Germany through the neutrals, which could render nugatory a blockade of Germany herself; but, during the ensuing two years, in company with the French, they perfected an elaborate system of control, further improvement of which became possible only when the Americans entered the contest. The Order in Council of March 11, 1915, and the French Decree of March 13, 1915, issued in reprisal for the German submarine warfare, set the legal pattern for the system. Negotiations with the border neutrals had already started, beginning the preceding November by the Dutch in their establishment of the Netherlands Overseas Trust. It is through her meticulous study of these negotiations and their results that Dr. Siney has made her principal contribution. She also gives some attention to American reactions (aside from the formal legal arguments of the State Department), but here she has not exhausted the possibilities. The author is certain that the Allied economic war (misleadingly called "blockade") was a decisive factor in the downfall of the Central Powers; but she admits that she has made no study of this phase of the struggle. It is to be hoped that she will remedy this omission in her second volume. There is also the rather unfortunate implication, arising from her opening chapter and emphasized on the dust jacket, that World War I was the first conflict in which the importance of economic weapons was realized.

RICHARD W. VAN ALSTYNE, *University of Southern California*

THE GENESIS OF THE ODER-NEISSE LINE: A STUDY IN THE DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS DURING WORLD WAR II. By *Wolfgang Wagner*. (Stuttgart: Brentano Verlag. 1957. Pp. 168.) West German bitterness over the loss of the eastern provinces in 1945 to Poland and Russia has steadily mounted with the general rise of German confidence since 1953; in 1956 it became—and continues to be—a factor of considerable significance in world politics. This new edition of a study first printed in German in 1953, under the same title and imprint, appears to have been published in an attempt to convince English-speaking readers that the lost provinces should be restored to Germany. It has been distributed (broadly, it would seem) by the Bonn Ministry for Expellees, Refugees, and War Victims. The translation is faithful to the original. (Neither admits that Germany opened the way to the 1945 disaster by attacking the USSR in 1941. In these volumes the USSR simply "went over to the side of the Allies.") The first edition was a full if overly literal historical report, which frequently strayed beyond the specific subject as stated in the title. It was based upon thorough research and heavily documented. It was a strong blend of honest scholarly effort and marked ethnocentric outlook, misleading on several important matters. The new edition, whose translator is not identified, retains these features. Several changes appear to have been made chiefly to increase the propaganda value of the book among English-language readers. The introduction to the German edition condemned the 1919 settlement as well as the 1945 agreements; it has been dropped. The introductory chapters have not been shortened, as the preface reports; indeed, the first chapter has been slightly lengthened by a new concluding paragraph, obviously designed to win sympathy for Germany. Only three other paragraphs have been added (on pp. 85, 144, and 148) to the new edition. The German

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edition's *Schluss* briefly but bitterly castigated Roosevelt and Churchill; this does not appear in the English edition. The bibliography of the new edition includes seven entries not mentioned in the *Literaturverzeichnis* of the 1953 edition; among these are *The Conferences at Malta and Yalta, 1945* (Washington, D. C., 1955). The new bibliography omits sixteen entries found in the earlier one; among these were *Der polnische Angriff* (Berlin, 1939). The new edition's index makes it more useful than was the older edition.

JOHN L. SNELL, *Tulane University*

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1939–1946: THE WAR AND THE NEUTRALS. Edited by *Arnold Toynbee* and *Veronica M. Toynbee*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 378. $8.00.) In the history of the Second World War the countries that remained neutral played a crucial role in the shifting fortunes of the Axis and Allied Powers. This volume supplements the study *Hitler's Europe* and throws much light on the strategy and tactics of the Latin American republics, Sweden, Switzerland, Eire, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey in the diplomatic, economic, and military realms. Professor W. N. Medlicott contributes an excellent section on economic warfare—the British effort, 1939–41 and the Anglo-American effort, 1942–45. Lady Constance Howard skillfully charts the changing contours of foreign and domestic policy in Latin America, Switzerland, and Eire. She deserves commendation for her impartiality of judgment and style, e.g., the passage on Eire's isolationism and nationalism (p. 256). Her scholarship in the sections on Switzerland and Eire cuts deeper than in the Latin American section, where she relies more heavily on Anglo-American sources. Agnes Hicks makes a penetrating analysis of Sweden's equivocal position and exploits Swedish sources that are more recently published than those cited by Medlicott in his part of the book. Katherine Duff presents with finesse the complex maneuvers of Spain and Portugal. G. E. Kirk concludes the volume with a judicious analysis of Turkey and its success in protecting itself against dangers on all fronts, especially Germany and Russia. As he puts it: "Turkey had stood out against becoming a belligerent virtually until the end of the war, like a nodule of harder material resisting disintegration and absorption by the stream of activity around her" (p. 363). The fundamental facts and policy analyses seem to this reviewer to be based on adequate evidence and careful study, with due account for the conflicting national and social interests involved. No doubt further publication of German Foreign Office documents and other sources not yet released will modify certain details or conclusions. The public will learn some startling facts about the Allied payment of $170 million for some 15,000 tons of wolfram from the Iberian peninsula (p. 95); the danger of Axis air lines in South America (p. 108); the possibility of a German occupation of Switzerland in the spring of 1943 (p. 222); Hitler's rejection of his Naval staff's November, 1940, proposal to take the Suez Canal by an invasion of Turkey from the East via Syria (p. 349). The scholar will meditate on the power of small nations that possess scarce war supplies, such as Turkish chrome, Spanish wolfram, Swedish steel and ball bearings, and on the advantages that the rulers of these countries were able to obtain for themselves from the Great Powers so long as these were divided into warring camps.

SIDNEY RATNER, *Rutgers University*

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE MUSLIM WORLD, 1917–1956. By *Ivar Spector*. (Seattle: distrib. by the University of Washington Press. 1956. Pp. vii, 151. Mimeographed. $3.50.) This study aims at filling "a significant gap in the broad field of

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Soviet-Muslim relations" from "the vantage point of the Soviet Union." To a praiseworthy extent, the author has accomplished his purpose, largely because of his skillful use of original Soviet sources, certain of which—given here *in extenso*—have not previously been available in English. He logically emphasizes those periods, after the Revolution of 1917, when the Soviet regime was most actively concerned with extending its influence southward into Muslim lands; the fourteen-year "lull" (1927–1941) is covered in a single chapter. A principal contribution of the book is the consideration given to the Soviet cultural impact on the countries of the Near and Middle East. Spector observes that Soviet cultural influence in this area has been a fluctuating factor, dependent to a considerable extent on general trends in the international situation. It is his view, moreover, that the attack on illiteracy in Iran under the United States Point Four program and the comprehensive project for the translation of Western books into Turkish have been important steps in inhibiting Soviet cultural influences, with their inevitable political overtones, in those border countries. He notes the recent intensification of Soviet cultural propaganda directed toward the Near and Middle East and suggests that care should be taken not to underestimate the potentialities of the campaign, carried on partly through the instrumentality of Muslims presently under Soviet jurisdiction. Two of the more salient points in the study relate to reasons for the relatively lean results of past efforts to achieve a pro-Soviet orientation in Muslim countries. One of the findings is that the Islamic faith and the combination of factors constituting nationalism thus far have proved to be stronger than any substitutes devised by Communist Russia. The other observation derives from the relative failure of Soviet endeavors to communize the peasantry, which in various countries figures in the national economies at the level of bare subsistence. The author remarks that the theory widely held in the West that Communism breeds in and thrives on poverty "is by no means universally true" and should not be relied upon. While not new, these and other findings help to illuminate the contemporary scene in the Near and Middle East.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS, *Library of Congress*

EUROPÄISCH-ASIATISCHER DIALOG: VORTRÄGE DER TAGUNG IN BOTTROP VOM 25. BIS 28. OKTOBER 1955. [Herausgegeben vom Vorstand des Landesverbandes nordrhein-westfälischer Geschichtslehrer.] (Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann. 1956. Pp. 117. DM 5.40.) Here is a collection of the lectures given at a conference of the North-Rhine-Westphalian association of teachers of history at Bottrop, Germany, in October, 1955. Seven of the nine speakers are professors in German universities or other institutions of higher learning. Dr. Girija K. Mookerjee is Indian Cultural Attaché of the Embassy at Bonn. Jef Last, now a writer in Amsterdam, was formerly a teacher in an upper-level secondary school in Bali. All concern themselves principally with the understanding and voluntary acceptance of western European intellectual concepts and techniques by the peoples of Asia. Gerhard Ritter suggests, for example, that if it makes sense at all to speak of Asia as a historical entity, this unity is only a result of the contact with Europe—a unity of the future, not of the past. The history of modern China would thus begin in 1911, that of the new India in 1919. The great historical figures by this definition are, then, Sun Yat-sen, Gandhi, Mustapha Kemal Atatürk, and Pandit Nehru. Although the Pacific war accelerated the winning of Indonesian independence, according to Professor Ritter, the demand for it was already there. The government of the Netherlands was already offering concessions short of independence but comparable with the current accommodation with the Dutch West Indies. The Indonesian peoples were less inclined to welcome the Japanese than to blame the royal government for leaving

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them unarmed and virtually undefended, at the mercy of the invader. Jef Last describes in lively fashion the swift pace of current social and economic change, particularly in Bali. Professor Ludwig Alsdorf and Dr. Mookerjee both emphasize, though in different fashion, that the educated Indian has never in the modern era been a stranger to the concepts of Western culture or fundamentally unfriendly to foreigners. He has shown, in fact, a broader understanding and greater tolerance than has been shown him. It is only colonialism or imperialism that he has now rejected.

CHESTER V. EASUM, *University of Wisconsin*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton[1]

A HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON POLYBIUS. Volume I, COMMENTARY ON BOOKS I–VI. By *F. W. Walbank*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxvii, 775. $13.45.) Polybius was for his contemporaries, and has been so considered since, the foremost historian of the era of the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean world. Though lacking literary quality his account inspired great writers, including Voltaire (*Sophonisbe*) and Flaubert (*Salammbô*). An indifferent political thinker he was, nevertheless, the main channel through which the theory of the mixed constitution reached the founders of the United States (cf. G. Chinard, in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, I [1940], 38 ff.). Yet there has been no commentary on the whole work of Polybius since Schweighaeuser, who wrote when Washington was the first President of the new Republic. Walbank's undertaking will be welcomed by all students of history. Whether the reader of Polybius wishes to know the meaning of the name "Bodengkos" (p. 181) or learn the development of the idea of a cyclical succession of constitutional forms (p. 643), he will find reliable information here, together with full source references and a modern discussion of the topic. Walbank's commentary consists of more or less short notes upon the facts mentioned by Polybius. He wisely avoids the temptation to enlarge upon tangential problems, such as the centuriate assembly (p. 686), and when he deals with controversial topics, such as the manning of warships (p. 73), he clearly states opposing views. His own judgment is generally marked by its common-sense quality, as when he deals with the role of chance in Polybius' historical thinking (p. 16 ff.). To be sure, there are points to criticize and some inaccuracies. For instance, the geographical commentary on *Pol.* V, 70 (p. 596) could have been much improved by the use of F.-M. Abel's *Géographie de la Palestine*. I do not understand what is "essentially Greek" (p. 630) in the association of the ideas of love of liberty and of domination over others (and what does "essentially Greek" mean?). I prefer my explanation of the form of the so-called Ebro Treaty (*American Journal of Philology*, LXXIII [1952], 18), which Walbank does not mention (p. 168) and would like to disgree with him on several points of international law (pp. 161 and 452). But neither the reviewer whose view on

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Roman declaration of war has been corrected by Walbank nor Walbank himself can pretend to omniscience and infallibility. Through this volume Walbank has given us compact and informative help in understanding the factual material transmitted in the first six books of Polybius. Let us hope that the second and concluding volume will appear soon.

ELIAS J. BICKERMAN, *Columbia University*

OPUSCULA: SCRITTI DI CARATTERE GENERALE; STUDI CATONIANI; I PROCESSI DEGLI SCIPIONI. By *Plinio Fraccaro.* Edited by *A. Bernardi, G. Forni, E. Gabba, A. Garzetti, E. Malcovati, P. Meriggi, R. Nascimbene, M. Passerini Manidi, G. Tibiletti.* (Pavia: Presso La Rivista "Athenaeum." 1956.) Widely scattered and often inaccessible papers of Plinio Fraccaro, distinguished ancient historian and geographer, appear here under the editorship of nine of his students. Their names, widely known in present-day Italian scholarship and education, in themselves bear witness to the vitality of Fraccaro's teaching during his long tenure of the chair of ancient history at Pavia and to his inspiring leadership as Rector of the University. He was appointed to the rectorship at the end of the war, after years of opposition to Fascism, and holds it today, although he retired in 1953 from his professorship. Fraccaro's epoch making papers on the constitution of the Roman Republic will be reprinted in a later volume. The present volume, composed chiefly of studies on the Elder Cato and the trials of the Scipios, most of which came out in 1910-1911, also contains a full bibliography of Fraccaro's work, including his wide-ranging reviews and seven papers of general character, some published here for the first time. These papers show Fraccaro's power of synthesis and also his succinctness. He is quoted as saying that when he tried to write a book all he could produce was a few pages. More than one can find in many a weighty tome is packed into the sixteen pages on "Il corso della storia romana," a hitherto unpublished lecture of 1949. Fraccaro presents here his view that the disappearance of the citizen army of small landholders was the major cause of the fall not only of the Roman Republic but of the Empire as well. Two other papers deserve special comment—the masterly discussion of the political organization of Italy during the Republic and the paper on early Roman history in which Fraccaro defends eloquently the reliability of the Roman list of magistrates and castigates the modern historians who, rejecting the tradition, set their own arbitrary dates for constitutional changes. Throughout these general papers many parallels are drawn between Rome and the United States, about which Fraccaro, without personal knowledge, has somehow acquired a remarkable understanding.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR, *Bryn Mawr College*

MACCABEES, ZEALOTS, AND JOSEPHUS: AN INQUIRY INTO JEWISH NATIONALISM IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD. By *William Reuben Farmer.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 239. $4.50.) Dr. Farmer's well-written book is mainly concerned with this problem: Was there any connection between Maccabaean nationalism and the fanaticism of the Zealots in A.D. 70? The author's affirmative answer is documented by many ancient sources. He asserts that Josephus was anxious to throw the blame for the Jewish war of A.D. 70 on the Zealots and wrote (Ant. 18. 1. 1 [9–10]) that the Zealots "excited a fourth philosophical sect among us . . . this system of philosophy which was previously unknown. . . ." But Farmer declares that Josephus "purposively obscured the connection between the fourth philosophical sect (so-called) and earlier Jewish nationalism" in order to divert war guilt from the Romans and the bulk of the Jews. Unfortunately, although his arguments and logic are persuasive, Farmer does not have the support of any ancient

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text in this attack on Josephus. When he notes that Schürer accepted Josephus' statements, he is forced to attack Schürer as overcareful. He claims that "all great historians need at times to rely on this historical intuition in making their reconstructions. However this is precisely what a historian like Schürer is loath to do." Yet this excessive use of speculation and intuition is exactly the weakness of Farmer's work; he has too many logical guesses and too few texts. He demonstrates that the attitude of the Zealots and the Maccabees toward the Torah and the Temple is very similar and that the Zealots were religiously motivated. He also shows that the Maccabees were remembered in the first century A.D., since their festivals, Hanukkah and Nicanor's Day, were still celebrated then. His literal treatment of the Dead Sea War Scroll is disturbing, however, since many scholars believe this scroll describes an eschatological not a real war. In his final chapter Farmer shows the connection between Zealot nationalism and apocalypticism. One doubts his statement that the Jews could have held out indefinitely in the citadel after the burning of the Temple, for Josephus tells us they could have been starved out (B.J. 6.8.4 [399–400]). Farmer thinks that the Jews would have risen to save Jesus if He had resisted arrest and writes: "If only there had been one drop of blood spilled," evidently forgetting how the high priest's servant had his ear cut off by one of Jesus' followers (Mark 14: 47). In summation, this book shows that the militant Jewish nationalists, the Maccabees and the Zealots, shared many ideas, but it does not prove to this reviewer that Josephus purposively obscured evidence or that the Zealots did not found a new, fourth philosophy in Judaism.

JAMES E. SEAVER, *University of Kansas*

RICERCHE SULLA PRAEFECTURA URBI IN ETÀ IMPERIALE (SEC. I–III). By *Giovanni Vitucci*. (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider. 1956. Pp. 124. L. 1,800.) This work traces the development of the urban prefecture as a governmental institution and shows its political relationship to the imperial regime up to the end of the third century A.D. Professor Vitucci uses available evidence critically and succeeds in giving a new and lucid interpretation to one of the important administrative organs of the Principate. He views the imperial urban prefecture as the institutional descendant not of the *praefectura urbi feriarum Latinarum* of regal and early republican times but of prefectures of Rome under Caesar and the Second Triumvirate. These prefectures did not always presume the absence from Rome of magistrates holding *imperium*. Thus Vitucci does not connect the appointment of urban prefects by Augustus with the emperor's occasional absence from the capital but with the emperor's desire to entrust consular senators, as prefects, with the delicate task of commanding the urban cohorts. Development of both criminal and civil jurisdiction exercised in Rome and Italy by the urban prefects is related to the coercive powers held by them as commanders of the urban cohorts, and prefectural jurisdiction is shown to increase gradually at the expense of that exercised by traditional magistrates. Vitucci stresses the importance of the territorial limitation and definition of competence given the office by Severus. He rejects the view that the prefecture represented the senatorial opposition to imperial government and that the urban cohorts were in any sense a "senatorial army." The office was not regarded as a potential menace by the emperors, and occasional conflicts between them and the prefects are not to be explained by assuming that the latter were exponents of an anti-imperial tendency. The work concludes with a useful list of known prefects and the evidence pertaining to them. Vitucci's arguments are convincing, and his book should find an important place in the literature dealing with Roman imperial administration.

WILLIAM G. SINNIGEN, *University of California, Berkeley*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm[1]

SYNTAGMA FRIBURGENSE: HISTORISCHE STUDIEN HERMANN AUBIN DARGEBRACHT ZUM 70. GEBURTSTAG AM 23.12.1955. [Schriften des Kopernikus-Kreises, Band 1.] (Lindau and Konstanz: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1956. Pp. 359. DM 22.) Professor Hermann Aubin is one of the leading German medievalists, who served for many years with great distinction as the editor of the *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. In his writings he has always devoted special attention to the history of the eastern regions of Germany, and he serves now as an editor of the *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*. It was in recognition of these particular interests that Aubin's friends of the *Kopernikus-Kreis* decided to dedicate to him the first volume of their publications as a *Festschrift* on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. The *Kopernikus-Kreis* or *Ostdeutscher Akademischer Arbeitskreis* in Freiburg is an association of scholars organized after the war to pursue the study of the history of the German and European East and its relationship with the German and

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European West. It should be realized that in accordance with current German usage the words *ostdeutsch* or *Ostdeutschland* do not refer to the territory of the *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (which in our terminology is usually called "Eastern Germany" or "the Soviet zone"), but rather designate the lands beyond the Oder-Neisse line that Germany lost as a result of the last war. In line with the specific character of the *Kopernikus-Kreis,* most of the seventeen articles in the *Syntagma Friburgense* are concerned with eastern problems. Only a few contributions can be mentioned explicitly. Professor Hellmann examines *die Ostpolitik Kaiser Ottos II.* and attempts to prove that in the East, as well as elsewhere, this reign was "on the whole successful, in spite of Otto's defeat at Cape Colonne and in spite of the Slavic revolt [of 983]." Professor Ludat deals with the question of the importance of the German eastern colonization, which has been hotly debated by German and Slavic (especially Polish) scholars for many years. He investigates *die Bezeichnung für "Stadt" im Slavischen,* that is, the meanings of the words *gord* and *město,* and on the basis of this linguistic examination rejects "the theory that the medieval city in the lands of the western Slavs was nothing but the direct and organic continuation of the pre-colonial autochthonous *Burgstadt.*" In his essay *"Burgund und der preussische Ordensstaat"* Professor Maschke illustrates very strikingly the unity of the world of chivalry in the Europe of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Professor E. W. Zeeden analyses the Polish-Lithuanian correspondence of Calvin and demonstrates "how strong an effort was made in Geneva to win Poland over to the Protestant Reform." Professor Markert makes an interesting contribution to the history of the Holy Alliance through the edition and discussion of a hitherto unpublished memorandum which was written by the Prussian diplomat Ancillon and sent to Emperor Alexander I in March, 1816. Of the four essays dealing with other than eastern topics, two ought to be singled out on account of their wider appeal: Professor F. Beyerle's comprehensive survey of economic developments in medieval Constance and Professor H. Thieme's treatment of *die Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII. als europäischer Rechtsfall,* which deals above all with the opinions voiced by the Spanish Dominican Franciscus de Vitoria, by Erasmus, and by Luther and shows how these and other men of equally variegated background expressed their opposition to the divorce on legal, moral, and religious grounds.

THEODOR E. MOMMSEN, *Cornell University*

BYZANTIUM: GREATNESS AND DECLINE. By *Charles Diehl.* Translated from the French by *Naomi Walford.* With introduction and bibliography by *Peter Charanis.* [Rutgers Byzantine Series.] (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1957. Pp. xviii, 366. $8.50.) "Like the Greeks of old," says the late Professor Diehl, "the Byzantines took keen pleasure in the fair sequence of words and in fine, sonorous phrases." Like the Greeks and the Byzantines, Diehl himself obviously reveled in the creative effort necessary to write well. Here is a famous book, skillfully translated into English, designed to acquaint the so-called general reader with the high spots of Byzantine history. It was first published in 1919, almost forty years ago, and I first read it almost twenty years ago. It was Diehl the artist, rather than Diehl the scholar, who wrote *Byzance: Grandeur et décadence.* Seldom has a romantic nature been so successfully steeled to the harsh discipline of professional scholarship as in Diehl's case. Although some of the views expressed in this book are now antiquated and erroneous, as Professor Charanis indicates in a very sensible preface, it will be a dull reader indeed who does not respond to Diehl's enthusiasm for Byzantine civilization. Actually the book has faults of organization which lead to unnecessary repetitions. Diehl's over-all estimate of Byzantine culture is too laudatory; he rejoiced in the sun-

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shine and did not often seek out the grim objects in the darkness. There are too many pat generalizations, but it is withal a brilliant book, written with a *curiosa felicitas* which even the most unbelieving reader will admire. When Diehl stood in a Byzantine church and his eyes moved from the polychrome marble of the walls to the blue and gold of the cupola, he was prepared for the solemn figure of the Pantokrator, for he had been transported to heaven itself. He made notes in an ecstasy, and in this book the chapters follow one another like so many *ekphraseis* in the best tradition of Byzantine rhetoric. The adjectives flowed from his pen, always alive to color, as though guided by the Pantokrator. Congratulations are due the Rutgers University Press for the beautiful format which Diehl the artist would certainly have enjoyed.

KENNETH M. SETTON, *University of Pennsylvania*

COMNENI E STAUFER: RICERCHE SUI RAPPORTI FRA BISANZIO E L'OCCIDENTE NEL SECOLO XII. Volume I. By *Paolo Lamma.* [Studi Storici, Fascicule 14–18.] (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo. 1955. Pp. xvii, 320. L. 4,500.) In the preface the author discusses the scope of his investigation and the method he has followed. The renewed interest in Byzantine history make his study timely, and the period from 1138 to 1158 (from the election of Conrad III to the Diet of Besançon) is especially appropriate for a comparison of Orient and Occident. The two empires were brought together in large part because of their mutual hostility to the Normans. These closer relations between the Comneni and the Hohenstaufen resulted in the marriage of Conrad's sister-in-law to Manuel. The isolation of the two spheres was coming to an end, and the new contacts attained their fullest development in the middle of the twelfth century, only to decline again. The author does not intend to write the usual type of history; instead he singles out problems on which the records show varying points of view. He utilizes the works of contemporary writers, the evidence of literature, both political and polemical, favorable and unfavorable, and to a large extent lets the sources speak for themselves; thus the heat of the argument is not lost. He relies principally on John Cinnamus, the secretary of Manuel Comnenus, and on Otto of Freising, the maternal uncle of Frederick I; both are official sources, well informed, often participants of the events they record, but definitely biased. The *Liber Pontificalis,* William of Tyre, and numerous other chronicles, both Latin and Greek, as well as letters, are used. Much of the emphasis is on Italy, where both empires had vital interests and where the sources reflect the varying points of view, especially the official attitude and its propaganda. Topics in this sphere include the opposition to William of Sicily, the struggle for Corfu, the attitude toward the rebel barons of the Norman kingdom led by Robert of Loritello, the attempt to create an anti-Greek alliance, and the final peace between Manuel and William. The Second Crusade brought about a personal acquaintance between Manuel and Conrad, but despite the alliance few historical phenomena find such radically different interpretations in East and West as the crusades. Stress on the religious motivation, common in the West, was alien to the Byzantine spirit. With the accession of Barbarossa the already uneasy alliance began to show rifts, although the new ruler had no deliberate wish to sever relations with Byzantium. The clash ensued because of the conflict of interests. Neither the contemplated marriage between Frederick and a Greek princess nor the hoped-for alliance against William materialized. The last chapter is largely devoted to the dramatic year 1157 (*anno denso di eventi*). With the limitations imposed by his method, or rather because of them, the author has presented a careful and worthwhile study. Unfortunately, the index leaves much to be desired; it is merely a register of persons.

JOHN C. ANDRESSOHN, *Indiana University*

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KULTURHISTORISK LEKSIKON FOR NORDISK MIDDELALDER FRA VIKINGETID TIL REFORMATIONSTID. Bind I, ABBED-BLIDE. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger. 1956. Pp. ix, 688, 31 plates. Cloth $8.20, paper $6.95.) This is the first volume of an encyclopedia of medieval Nordic culture from the Viking era to the Reformation. Nine more volumes plus an index are due to come. The best of Scandinavian scholars have joined their forces in this important work. The articles are written in Danish, Norwegian (*bokmaal* or *nynorsk*), or Swedish, and each is followed by a short bibliography. The student interested in the Scandinavian Middle Ages will find here information not about history in the limited sense of the word (biographies, for example, are not included) but about *Kulturgeschichte* in its widest meaning. Every aspect of the Scandinavian world from Old Nordic mythology to medieval liturgy and baking of bread seems to be included. Where adequate monographs are available the authors have been restricted to short articles, while the treatment of topics from unexplored areas has benefited from original research.

JENNY M. JOCHENS, *Ann Arbor, Michigan*

A ROYAL IMPOSTOR: KING SVERRE OF NORWAY. By *G. M. Gathorne-Hardy*. (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Company; distrib. by Oxford University Press, London and New York. 1956. Pp. ii, 305.) King Sverre (1179–1202) made a deep impression on his age, and his career has uniformly been a favorite with successive generations of Norwegian historians. In this study he is approached "through the impartial eyes of a foreigner." Gathorne-Hardy has been familiar with Norway's history for over a quarter of a century, and the study he offers here is a serious one. There may not be too much that is new on the larger setting, that is, on the social alignment of opposing forces, on the scope of Sverre's challenge to the hierarchy, or on the changes wrought, by his intervention, in the pattern of Norwegian constitutional developments; but there are some very well worked out topographical and tactical analyses of the king's many military encounters. Morever, it is the character of the king that most engages the author. His conclusion is essentially negative: "It is difficult not to feel regret that he should ever have existed, since Norway, for many succeeding centuries, would probably have been far happier and more prosperous if his opponents had triumphed" (p. 280). This estimate is related to the author's conviction "that orthodox methods of historical research must be supplemented by a reasoned use of imaginative reconstruction" (p. i), in this case largely "psychological" reconstruction. Sverre here emerges as "the priest and mystic, the shrewd tactician, the unscrupulous propagandist—and, I am afraid we must add, the cad" (p. 169). Sverre's claim to be of royal blood may have been a pious fraud, but to feature this "imposture" is hardly necessary at this date. Norwegian historians have for years recognized that Sverre very likely was not of royal heritage. Gathorne-Hardy's study is provocative rather than definitive. Its psychological insights are more than a little intriguing; they will be helpful in further studies on this vigorous but still rather enigmatic medieval personality, who occupied Norway's throne during a period of important social and constitutional change.

OSCAR J. FALNES, *New York University*

NORICUM, BAIERN UND ÖSTERREICH: LORCH ALS HAUPTSTADT UND DIE EINFÜHRUNG DES CHRISTENTUMS. By *Ignaz Zibermayr*. (2d, rev. ed., Horn, Niederösterreich: Verlag Ferdinand Berger. 1956. Pp. xxii, 555. DM 29.) From its first appearance in 1944 the work here reviewed, now carefully revised in the light of the last decade of scholarship, became the standard treatise on the history of the country west of the Enns River during the early Middle Ages. The volume is

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divided into five parts of unequal length. Part I concerns Roman Noricum and the intrusion of Christianity there; Part II, the tribal dukedom of Bavaria and Christianity; and Part III, the Carolingian East Mark and its three counties. Much shorter is Part IV, which treats of the territory of the three counties in the Hungarian period and the "Archbishopric of Lorch." Part V, which concludes the book, treats very briefly of Austria "ob der Enns." As is stated in the preface, the author aims to "show how Austria developed from Bavaria, how the latter derived earlier from Noricum along the banks of the Danube (Ufer-Noricum), and that both Austria and Bavaria go back to Roman foundations." Dr. Zibermayr has treated a difficult subject with consummate skill. Readers of his book—and they will not be limited to specialists—will agree with the reviewer that the learned author should be congratulated for the persistence, care, and intelligence with which he has made use of all available materials—legendary, archaeological, literary, anthropological, geographical, and historical—to illuminate his views. Zibermayr has so organized his data that due emphasis is given to all major aspects of his theme; minor issues are discussed, to be sure, but not in such a way as to deflect attention from the central problems. The book was written to supply the author's own need of a treatise in one volume that would trace historically the many-sided earlier phases of political, constitutional, and administrative developments in Bavaria and Austria. Zibermayr's discussion of the historical value of the life of St. Severinus, of the legend of St. Florian, and of the stories of Emmeram, Kilian, Korbinian, and Rupert stands out especially as a notable illustration of competent employment of difficult source materials. Noteworthy too is Zibermayr's construction of his book from the foundation of the sources. Secondary discussions of these materials are adverted to only when it becomes necessary to elaborate a difficult point, e.g., that there were two conversions of Bavaria separated by a relapse into paganism after the death of Dagobert (639 A.D.), that the destruction of Lorch (which had been the political and ecclesiastical center of Bavaria prior to its destruction about 700 A.D. by the Avars) was the starting point for the second conversion that began in earnest with the death in 718 A.D. of Duke Theodo when his two sons relapsed into paganism. The author makes clever use of many later writings, such as the life of St. Emmeram by Bishop Arbeo of Freising (written about 770 A.D.) and the forgeries of Bishop Pilgrim of Passau (written in the tenth century). These writings supply him with considerable new material and supporting argument for his theses. Some will not be satisfied with Zibermayr's employment of such materials to buttress his positions. There will, however, be few indeed who will not agree that Zibermayr has made available to all interested students a veritable gold mine of information on a most important aspect of an obscure chapter of medieval history. Ausländer are advised that *Schulausgabe* as used by Zibermayr in his footnotes refers to *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum.*

GEORGE BINGHAM FOWLER, II, *University of Pittsburgh*

LA PATARIA MILANESE E LA RIFORMA ECCLESIASTICA. Volume I, LE PREMESSE (1045–1057). By *Cinzio Violante.* [Studi Storici, Fascicule 11–13.] (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo. 1955. Pp. x, 221. L. 2,700.) This is the first of three volumes projected to trace the story of a Milanese religious movement from its origins to the age of the Commune, which will provide a complement to the author's *La società milanese nell' età precomunale* (Bari, 1953). The Pataria was a stirring of the populace which took the form of a boycott of services conducted by clergy suspected either of concubinage or simony. How few specialists have heretofore concerned themselves with the episode may be seen from K. Bihl-

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meyer and H. Tüchle, *Kirchengeschichte* (12th ed.; II, p. 148). Violante now points out that the movement stemmed from a high appreciation of the priesthood (p. 187) and that it prided itself upon its loyalty to the Apostolic See (p. 149)—indeed, that it secured papal recognition through Pope Stephen IX's dispatch in late 1057 of a legation to Milan (pp. 205–13). The worth of this somewhat diffuse study lies in its careful examination of its sources. Early 1057 is shown to mark the commencement of the Pataria (p. 181), and the deacon Ariald and the notary Landulph Cotta are portrayed as its true originators (pp. 175 ff.). A particularly acute analysis (pp. 164–73) of Landulph Senior's *Mediolanensis historia,* III, 5, reveals the weakness in the interpretation in which Anselm of Baggio, the future Pope Alexander II, gives the first impulse to the Pataria. Though he has overlooked Wanda Baldi Gugliucci's *Il risveglio religioso del sec. XI e la riforma della Chiesa* (Salerno, 1951), Violante is evidently at home with the literature on his subject. His insight into the politico-religious ideals of the Emperor Henry III will interest those who already know his contribution to the *Rivista storica italiana,* 64 (1952), 293/314.

HENRY G. J. BECK, *Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, New Jersey*

QUINSAI WITH OTHER NOTES ON MARCO POLO. By *A. C. Moule.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 92. $5.50.) Quinsai is the name by which the present city of Hangchow, southwest of Shanghai, was known to Marco Polo. We now spell it Hsiang-tsai, a designation which in Polo's day meant the emperor's temporary residence. The capital of China in the twelfth century, it still retained when Polo was there, a century later, much of its former splendor. Mr. Moule knows the city intimately, for he grew up there, the son of an Anglican bishop. Moreover, he studied much of the native literature on it, including plans and maps printed originally in Hangchow in 1274. For Polo, Quinsai was the "City of Heaven"; for Moule, it is a city with many memories. As the translator, together with the late Paul Pelliot of Paris, of *Marco Polo, the Description of the World* (2 vols.; London, 1938), Moule writes with authority in this field. In fact, the present work is a collection of comments on obscure points in Marco Polo that are not recorded in the afore-mentioned two volumes. Although all page references are naturally to his own translation, the interpretations will clarify any of the editions of recent years. It is impossible to do justice to the hundreds of valuable observations that Moule makes to "places, incidents, and single words" in Marco Polo's account. One thinks of such oddities as "hens which have skins like cats." These, says the author, are the "silk-fowls or silkies" whose bones and skin are black but whose feathers may be pure white or pure black. They were mentioned by Odoric and were bred for a time in England and in Europe. Again, the "linen of Rens" which perplexed readers in the past is shown to be a cloth of Reims. Incidentally, a pool in one of Hangchow's temple courts is the first recorded home of goldfish, mentioned by a Chinese poet of the eleventh century, though not by Marco Polo.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, *Washington, D. C.*

VIRIDARIUM IMPERATORUM ET REGUM ROMANORUM. By *Dietrich von Nieheim.* Edited by *Alphons Lhotsky* and *Karl Pivec.* [Monumenta Germaniae Historica (500–1500), Staatsschriften des Späteren Mittelalters, Band V, Stück 1.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1956. Pp. xxv, 107. DM 20.) Long known and several times listed in exhibits of Viennese manuscripts as anonymous, the *Viridarium* has only recently been identified as one of the "forgotten" works of Theodoricus de Nieheim, and its significance is now being adequately evaluated. The present edition, with its illuminating introduction, makes available a fifteenth-century treatise of first-rate

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importance pertaining to the conciliar controversy. The term *Viridarium,* literally a pleasure garden or *Lustgarten,* is here used in the sense of a collection of *argumenta* and *exempla,* supporting the oft exploited thesis of Dietrich that the *Imperium* and *Sacerdotium,* operating harmoniously, provide the sole guarantee for a peaceful and orderly Christendom. The multiplicity of divers sources, extracts from the *Politics* of Aristotle, medieval chronicles, letters, statutes, etc., provides the basis for a dogmatic treatise adorned with maxims, adages, and Biblical passages. Dietrich is unsparing in his denunciation of popes who, by their interference in temporal affairs, especially in Sicily, contributed to the schism. With equal vigor, he extols the medieval emperors who opposed such popes, above all, Frederick II, describing him as *vir catholicus atque pius et providus imperator.* As controversialist, Dietrich does not hesitate to distort his *exempla,* and as Latinist, he is untouched by the humanistic refinements of his contemporaries. The format of the edition and the impeccable scholarship of the editors are in conformity with the invariably high standards of the *Monumenta Germania Historica.*

THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE, *Bowdoin College*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson[1]

ARCHEION: OR, A DISCOURSE UPON THE HIGH COURTS OF JUSTICE IN ENGLAND. By *William Lambarde*. Edited by *Charles H. McIlwain* and *Paul L. Ward*. [Publication of the Ames Foundation.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 176. $5.00.) Professors McIlwain and Ward here present an edition of William Lambarde's *Archeion*, as published by his grandson, Thomas, in 1635. Earlier in the same year Daniel Frere, a printer, had published what may be called a pirated edition of the same work based on one or more of the many manuscript versions which had been in existence since about 1580. Thomas Lambarde, a young law student, regarded the Frere edition as "an aspersion" on "his ancestor" and set out "to vindicate him from that wrong [if any such can be] and myself from

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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an imputed apathy." He spoke of his own edition as "new corrected and enlarged according to the author's copy." The edition of the work now before us is the first since 1635. Lambarde's *Archeion* has long been considered the chief contemporary account of the English secular court system in the late sixteenth century. It has also been valued for its comments on the history of the courts, for Lambarde was a leading writer on some aspects of the legal system in the days immediately before Coke. Students of English history and English law will therefore welcome this new edition of what has come to be a rare book and will no doubt allow the Thomas Lambarde version to replace the Frere version of the text, which has been quite frequently used, as for example in J. R. Tanner's *Tudor Constitutional Documents.* Ward has added to the text an appendix of about thirty pages, devoted to textual criticism of the two printed editions and some of the better known manuscript versions. He shows that Thomas Lambarde's principal addition to the Frere text—long sections on statutory offenses which were within the jurisdiction of the Star Chamber—came from William Lambarde's manuscript treatise "Of the Court called the Star Chamber," a copy of which with Lambarde's notes is in the Folger Library. In addition, he proves that the manuscript version of the *Archeion* which Lambarde sent to Sir Robert Cecil in 1591 underwent emendation by Lambarde in the years before his death in 1601. The remainder of Ward's criticism is extremely difficult to follow. At times he goes beyond his evidence, e.g., when he implies that Thomas Lambarde consulted the Harvard manuscript version of the *Archeion* (p. 159). At other times the language and punctuation are not precise enough to keep the argument clear, e.g., the description of Bodleian Tanner MS 435 as "Lambarde's earlier writing" (p. 152). When Ward reports on his later studies of the manuscripts, he will no doubt have opportunity to present more ample evidence and a more cogent argument.

F. G. Marcham, *Cornell University*

THE COMMITTEE AT STAFFORD, 1643–1645: THE ORDER BOOK OF THE STAFFORDSHIRE COUNTY COMMITTEE. Edited with an introduction by *D. H. Pennington* and *I. A. Roots.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press in association with the Staffordshire Record Society; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1957. Pp. lxxxiii, 389. $10.00.) During the Civil War and Interregnum, the chief organ of local government of the triumphant Parliament and its successors was the county committee. These committees, composed of men of local standing and influence, including some of the leading gentry, ruled in every English and Welsh county and discharged many of the principal tasks of financial administration and the maintenance of public security. Such was their ubiquity and the scope of their activity that on numerous matters their decisions were of greater consequence to the inhabitants of the county than the votes taken at Westminster. It is odd, therefore, that the analysis of their character and functioning should have been so largely neglected by historians of the English revolution. As a result, however, of the present preoccupation with topics of social and administrative history, attention is at last being turned upon the subject. There is no doubt that the study of these committees will lead to a richer understanding of the revolution, particularly its social character. The present publication contains the whole of the extant record of the transactions of the Staffordshire committee. The text of the Order book, aided by the editors' useful introduction, notes, and illustrative appendixes, brings the conditions of the Civil War under a more intense scrutiny than is possible when events are viewed from the central government's height of grandeur at Westminster. We are set cheek by jowl with the natives of a single county—with the displaced Vicar of Wolstanton, the inhabitants of Sardon Magna and Sardon Parva, and Mrs. Anson whose five

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cows were distrained by Captain Wakefield. We are shown the working of Parliamentary local administration amidst the wash and wake of war. Despite the frequent complaints of the committees' corruption made at the time, there is little evidence of it here. The committee strove to be just, and its decisions show a consideration not only for the ordinary people oppressed by the hardships of the war but for all those Royalists prepared to make the smallest gesture of conciliation. Finally, it is striking how prosy is the record of the committee's activities. We are far, indeed, from the realm of ideology and encounter little revolutionary ardor and no elevated declarations of principles. Though some of the committee members desired the energetic prosecution of the struggle against the king, the temper in the county seems to have been one of neutrality or of regret at the war and grim acceptance of the tasks it imposed.

PEREZ ZAGORIN, *McGill University*

THE MORAL REVOLUTION OF 1688. By *Dudley W. R. Bahlman.* [The Wallace Notestein Essays, Number 2; Yale Historical Publications, Volume 38.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 112. $3.00.) The subject of this study has hitherto received little attention from historians: the movements for reform in morals which appeared in England in the late seventeenth century. Although the author shows us that in the effort to accomplish this reform three groups of societies were organized, he focuses his attention on only one of them, the societies for reformation of manners and morals. Founded in 1690 and composed largely of Anglicans, although Dissenters were welcomed, these organizations continued their activities with varying degrees of success for about forty years. The Established Church welcomed them at first, but later on, especially in the province of York, took a less favorable attitude. Much the same could be said of the Crown whose officials, although they could not, of course, be "against sin," had reason to be disturbed by the high-handed methods of the reformers. In the concluding chapter Mr. Bahlman suggests that the most important contribution of the societies was the example they provided for later voluntary associations for reform or for social service. Otherwise, except for brief moments of enthusiasm, they met with so little success that this reviewer is inclined to think the title of the book misleading. The study has many good points; its weaknesses are that the treatment is almost exclusively descriptive and it is too brief for the challenging material it contains. A number of questions that arose in this reader's mind were left unanswered. What was the social composition of these organizations? To what extent, if any, were they politically inspired? How can the long-term failure be explained? Tantalizing suggestions indicate that the author could have answered these and other questions. To have done so would have meant writing a longer book—but one that would have made an even greater contribution to our understanding of the period. On the credit side, the book is well written and interesting, shows the mark of sound scholarship throughout, and is thoroughly documented. There is no bibliography, a welcome change from the practice of listing every book or article read in preparation for writing a monograph, however remote the connection. Bahlman did not need several pages of titles to show us that he has thoroughly explored his sources and that he is familiar with the period. The evidence is where it should be—in the content of his book.

LUCILE PINKHAM, *Carleton College*

THE WILLIAMITE CONFISCATION IN IRELAND, 1690–1703. By *J. G. Simms.* [Studies in Irish History, Volume VII.] (London: Faber and Faber Ltd. 1956. Pp. 207. 25*s.*) During the war of 1689–91 the land question was of major importance to

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the Irish supporters of James II and William III. Complete victory for either side would result in virtual land monopoly; a negotiated peace would subject Irish land to hard bargaining. The history of this land confiscation has hitherto not received the careful treatment of earlier confiscations. This volume adequately fills the need for a detailed study of the bewildering series of changes affecting Catholic-owned land from 1690 to 1703. Mr. Simms clearly explains and illustrates each phase of the confiscation and relates how the forfeiture policy played a role in strategy during the war. The author then considers in detail the implementation of the Treaty of Limerick and the history of the celebrated "missing clause," which would have protected the land interests of all who were under the protection of the Jacobites in certain counties. Simms concludes that the Catholics were less severely affected by the omission than would have been expected from the arguments presented. William's government, which appeased the more militant Protestants by omitting the clause, was not anxious to have its acts in the form of widespread confiscations interpreted as a breach of faith. Successive steps of forfeitures, grants, restorations, sales of grants, expropriations of private interests imposed by the Act of Resumption, the processing of claims, and the passage of private legislation were all part of the gauntlet through which land passed before stability was finally achieved. Simms's study is based on manuscript sources which have been unused heretofore. As a result he has been able to correct many statistical tabulations, showing rather conclusively that only 8 per cent of all Irish land was transferred from Catholics to Protestants during this confiscation. Records of the differing fates of many Irish families are used to illustrate effectively the whole story. Simms's account of the Williamite confiscation will not be replaced for some time.

HOMER L. CALKIN, *Arlington, Virginia*

HENRY NEWMAN: AN AMERICAN IN LONDON, 1708–43. By *Leonard W. Cowie.* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the Church Historical Society. 1956. Pp. x, 272. 30*s*.) Students of history occasionally come across men whose careers are unexciting but who, by occupying positions of some strategic importance and by leaving ample memorials of their activities, contribute markedly to an understanding of their time. Such a man was Henry Newman. Born in Massachusetts in 1670, Newman spent a number of years as Harvard's librarian and in trading ventures between Newfoundland and Europe, then settled down in the London of Queen Anne. There he passed the second half of his life, serving as secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and representing New Hampshire as colonial agent. A convert to the Church of England, Newman worked for the Society with quiet devotion, patiently, meticulously, unselfishly. Dr. Cowie has drawn on Newman's extensive correspondence and other manuscript holdings of the Society, and on a wide variety of printed sources, to trace a career which throws light on the charity school movement, religious and educational publications, missionary enterprise, the advancement of Protestantism on the continent, aid for religious refugees, and the settling of Georgia. To such topics the bulk of the book is devoted. Newman's activities as colonial agent reveal "how many and deep-seated, even in the first half of the century, were the difficulties between Britain and America." We see how busy he was with such transatlantic designs as Bishop Berkeley's Bermuda project, the Massachusetts-New Hampshire boundary dispute, the shipping of books to Harvard and Yale, and the creation of better feeling between Anglican and other religious groups. His affection for America was lasting. To President Leverett he wrote: "I earnestly beg your prayers that I may never disparage my native country." Even after years in England he regarded himself as an American, though perfectly ac-

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climated to the life of the metropolis. This is a well-balanced and readable account, giving evidence of considerable research. Scholars will appreciate the careful documentation and useful bibliography. If Newman, here and there, seems a somewhat elusive figure, the author can scarcely be blamed. "He was not a prominent figure in Church or State. He devised no important policy, nor led any great movement. He regarded himself always as the 'servant' of the SPCK, and the active members as his 'masters.' With them, however, he can take his place among the men of good will and capacity who encouraged the spread of religion, popular education, and humanitarianism."

WILLIAM L. SACHSE, *University of Wisconsin*

CUSTOMS LETTER-BOOKS OF THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL, 1711–1813. Edited, with an introduction by *Rupert C. Jarvis*. [Remains, Historical and Literary, Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, Volume VI, Third Series.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press for the Chetham Society. 1954 [pub. in 1956]. Pp. xxiv, 192. 35*s*.) The recent war completed the destruction of the correspondence between the Board of Customs in London and its officers in Liverpool. Fortunately, some of the entries, averaging four or five a year, had been previously calendared or transcribed, and in this form they are now printed. Except for a gap between 1791 and 1802 they are fairly evenly distributed over the century which ended in 1812—"the end of the Middle Ages"—when Parliament assumed full financial responsibility for the Customs. They contain much precise information about landing and shipping procedures, fees, plans for necessary buildings, trade in such basic commodities as coal, tobacco, fish, and wine, and the usual oddities of trade and customs. The fight against smuggling centered around the anomalous Isle of Man, and there were attempts to prevent the escape of Jacobites, South Sea Company officials, and wool or cotton operatives. Here and there come echoes from a wider world: the Stamp Act and the Tea Duty, the wars with France, John Newton and the slave trade; but the collection is useful chiefly for its picture of an institution at work. The editing is masterly, and the introduction contains some interesting comments on the medieval administrative system as it was adapted to the eighteenth century.

G. H. GUTTRIDGE, *University of California*

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK AND THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF SICILY, 1811–1814. By *John Rosselli*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1956. Pp. 220. $5.50.) By the admission of the author this book began as a dissertation for the Ph.D. degree, but in the opinion of the reviewer it ended as something better. Although the narrative covers only 156 pages and is limited to three years of Anglo-Sicilian history, the subject matter is rather involved. On the surface these years represent merely a fraction of the period of British occupation of Sicily, which was only one of the many spheres of conflict between the British and the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic regimes. But the simple position of Sicily as a pawn in the grim Anglo-French struggle from 1793 to 1815 was complicated by the following factors: the separate institutions of Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples, the constitutional struggle in Sicily, the continuous clashes between the king and queen and other members of the Bourbon dynasty over foreign and domestic policies, the shifting policies of the British ministeries, and the independent actions taken by the British representatives in Sicily. The three-year mission of Bentinck must be studied against this background. The seventeen pages of introduction scarcely prepare the average reader for the treatment of these somewhat involved topics. The reviewer had the advantage of

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reading Harold Acton's *The Bourbons of Naples, 1734–1825* immediately before concentrating on Dr. Rosselli's more compact work and feels that since this background made both the issues and the roles of the principal characters clearer and more vivid to him, it might be equally beneficial for other readers. From 1811 to 1814, outside of the remote possibility of its conquest by Napoleon or Murat, it seemed likely that the future of Sicily would be one of the following: a continuation of the *status quo* whether or not King Ferdinand recovered Naples, a government under the Constitution of 1812, some form of a British protectorate, or outright annexation to the British Empire. Greatest emphasis in this work is placed on the failure of the Constitution of 1812 and on Bentinck's amazing philosophical dream which would have made Sicily "after Ireland, the brightest jewel in the British crown." Yet after the final defeat of Napoleon none of these likely developments took place, for in 1816 King Ferdinand proclaimed the union of Naples and Sicily, swept away all Sicilian institutions which had developed since the Norman conquest, and replaced them with the centralized French system which had been established in Naples. Thus Sicily became a part of the Austrian, not British, sphere of influence. The author has been successful in his self-imposed task of tracing and explaining these developments. Anyone who wishes to know the details of why Bentinck failed and events turned out as they did must read the book.

DONALD GROVE BARNES, *Western Reserve University*

LUGARD: THE YEARS OF ADVENTURE, 1858–1898. By *Margery Perham*. (Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books; London: Collins. 1956. Pp. xv, 750. $6.75.) A generation which reacts with conditioned reflexes to the wickedness of imperialism finds it impossible to believe that there was a time when Europeans believed it their duty to bring areas of Africa under their control and when men acted like characters out of Kipling and Richard Harding Davis. This first of a projected two-volume life of Lord Lugard is unlikely to change many opinions on this score. Although the evidence, drawn from the extensive papers of Lord Lugard and official documents, is here, the author remains too close to these sources to be able to see their meaning. The result is less a biography than a case study of an attitude and an era. A young man, imbued with a sense of duty in his Evangelical home and at Sandhurst, goes off with his regiment to India, where he is shattered by unrequited love. Lacking a psychiatrist, he plunges into Africa to fight the slave trade and forget. Knowing that British rule is best for Africans, he involves his government in some very tricky diplomatic gambits. While dealing with the advance agents of French imperialism in the persons of Catholic missionaries, he sits at his camp table and writes to their leader in Latin. But all seems lost; his government is too blind to do the right thing. The young man repeatedly goes to England, where he swings public opinion into forcing the government to paint red spots on Africa. But he knows that there is no longer a place for him in England. Africa, he declares, now has its hold on him, and he returns—self-reliant, self-disciplined, a sternly just man, fit to enter the hagiography of Kipling. The case study also gives clear proof that the shift in Britain from official coolness to enthusiasm for imperial expansion was less a matter of party than of generations. Lugard and his kind were discouraged with Salisbury and Gladstone and rejoiced over Chamberlain, Rosebery, and Sir Edward Grey. The book also brings out the little-known mutual distrust of chartered company and imperial officials in Africa. The empire builders were no band of brothers. Lugard had little use for Rhodes, writing trenchantly on his weaknesses to Flora Shaw, his defender and the future Lady Lugard. There is also strong evidence that native chiefs, far from being tricked into signing treaties with companies, understood them fully and wel-

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comed them as a guarantee for their own rule. Chief Khama in Bechuanaland and King Lafia of Nikki in Nigeria, two very intelligent men, were frank on this point to Lugard. The great weakness of paternal white control is seen in Lugard's rule never to dine with an African, with the notable exception of Khama. Lugard wanted the African protected in his tribalism by whites, but at least at this stage of his life he never envisaged a Ghana run by African products of the University of London.

COLIN RHYS LOVELL, *University of Southern California*

MORE NINETEENTH CENTURY STUDIES: A GROUP OF HONEST DOUBTERS. By *Basil Willey*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. 304. $4.00.) Religious liberalism and agnosticism in Victorian England is the central theme of this fourth volume of Basil Willey's studies dealing with the history of ideas. A sequel, or complement, to his *Nineteenth Century Studies* (London, 1949), it deals, in the main, with less distinguished but more representative figures and has a greater unity than that work. Six independent, though interrelated, essays consider five men—Francis W. Newman, Alfred Lord Tennyson, J. A. Froude, Mark Rutherford or William Hale White, and John Morley—and one book, the controversial *Essays and Reviews,* published in 1860. Willey combines pertinent biographical explanation with clear critical analysis based on original writings, and his sensitive understanding of the Victorians makes the book a significant historical contribution. He is excellent on Tennyson, the poet of science and nature, and on Mark Rutherford, the novelist of Nonconformist Puritanism in decay. His chapter on *Essays and Reviews* is original and valuable, ranging from Jowett's liberal Anglicanism to Frederic Harrison's positivism and modern liberal Christianity. Except for the agnostic Morley, Willey's "honest doubters" experienced the loss of faith without the loss of the will to believe. For some, especially the authors of *Essays and Reviews,* the drift from orthodoxy was primarily the result of the impact of science and historical criticism; for others, such as Newman, Froude, and Hale White, it was prompted more by personal questioning of the theological beliefs and ecclesiastical forms of contemporary religion. While their solutions were vague, they all appeared to end up with a Christianity of "essentials," emphasizing morality and inner spiritualness. The Essayists attempted to bring Christianity into accord with the intellectual conceptions of the age, and Willey sympathetically views them and his other religious liberals as essential agents in the strengthening of Protestantism and, indeed, of Christianity.

JOHN F. GLASER, *Ripon College*

THE LIBERAL TRADITION FROM FOX TO KEYNES. Edited by *Alan Bullock* and *Maurice Shock*. (New York: New York University Press. 1957. Pp. lv, 288. $4.50.) This book consists of source material illustrating the development of liberal ideas and policies in Britain from the period of the French Revolution to that of the Second World War. The selections are well chosen and cover a wide range of topics, political, social, economic, and cultural. They are taken from the writings and speeches of statesmen, philosophers, scholars, journalists, and even poets, who had contributed to the formation of the liberal tradition in Britain. The volume is well worth having at hand. In their introduction the editors provide an excellent analysis of liberalism as a whole by integrating its various aspects during the stages of its historical development. The reader will get a clear idea of how the "classical" liberalism of the nineteenth century, with its "hackneyed antithesis between the individual and society," acquired in the twentieth century "a social as well as an intellectual conscience." The excerpts in the book illustrate this transition from laissez faire to social liberalism: in politics, from Gladstone to Lloyd George; in economics,

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from Ricardo to Keynes; and in ideology, from Spencer to Hobhouse. The editors assert that there is not a single institution in Britain which has not felt the impact of liberalism. This is very true, but they weaken their case by identifying liberalism too closely with the Liberal party. No source material is given to explain how liberalism spilled over into the Conservative party. Nor is any given to show how liberalism found lodging in the Labour party, perhaps the legitimate successor to the Liberal party as the latter had been to the Whig party. The book might have included an excerpt from the program of the Labour party, upholding parliamentary government and civil liberty, the fundamentals of liberalism anywhere and at any time. The editors say in the introduction that the liberal tradition is to be found at work in both the other parties, Labour and Conservative. Hence they are quite aware that liberalism in Britain did not die with the demise of the Liberal party.

J. Salwyn Schapiro, *Tomkins Cove, New York*

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by *J. R. M. Butler*. THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST, Volume II, THE GERMANS COME TO THE HELP OF THEIR ALLY (1941). By *Major-General S. O. Playfair, et al.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1956. Pp. xiv, 392. $6.53 postpaid.) Volume II covers the period from March to November, 1941, in a manner designed for both the general reader and the specialist in military studies. Conduct of the war receives closer attention than battle tactics; situations which require major command decisions are described; then the story moves from circumstances to consequences. Operations by all three services receive proportionate attention, as does the enemy side. The central theme is the appearance of German forces in what remains for them a secondary theater, where they intend to keep Italy in the war but not to squander resources needed for their main effort on the Eastern Front, soon to open. On the British side, it is largely a record of miscalculated risks, great overextension, and doughty improvisation. Important successes at sea and in Iraq, Syria, Persia, and East Africa are attributed partly to German unwillingness to become further involved. The book answers various hard questions. Why did Rommel push to the Egyptian border so quickly? Because opposing forces had been stripped to a level determined, of necessity, before the German strength was correctly appreciated (the decision could be rectified only by bringing reinforcements from the United Kingdom) and because Rommel exceeded his orders, thus dismaying both British and German high commands. Did the expedition to Greece fail so quickly because it was badly conceived or poorly executed? Again it was a case of having to make critical decisions before some critical factors were known, including a German change of plans with respect to the attack on Russia. Why did Crete fall to airborne attack? Because the Germans accepted excessive losses in order to win by a narrow margin, an experience they were unwilling to repeat. Why were Wavell and Longmore relieved by Auchinleck and Tedder? After a judicious analysis, the authors leave the impression that the two outgoing men deserved more appreciative treatment but that the changes were necessary because of the way World War II had to be conducted.

George Frederick Howe, *Washington, D. C.*

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919–1939. First Series, Volume VI, 1919. Edited by *E. L. Woodward* and *Rohan Butler*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1956. Pp. xcvii, 1074. $19.31 postpaid.) This is the last of six volumes on British policy in 1919 after the

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signing of the Treaty of Versailles on June 28. Chapter i is concerned with the affairs of Central Europe down to the entry into force of the treaty on January 10, 1920. From these reports of British diplomatists, military men, and special agents, much information can be gleaned about the political situation in Germany, including the possibility of a military *coup d'état,* the difficulties between Germany and Poland over Danzig and the frontier, the chaotic internal situation in Poland, the protests of the Sudeten Germans and the Slovaks against inclusion in Czechoslovakia, the desperate situation in Austria (where food, coal, raw materials, and credits were all short), the troubles of Hungary arising from the regime of Bela Kun and the subsequent invasion by the Romanians, and finally the defiance of the Supreme Council by Romania, which for months refused to sign the treaty with Austria or the minorities treaty imposed on the Succession States. There is, however, comparatively little about British policy. The attitude of His Majesty's Government was essentially opportunist, taking decisions only when they could not longer be delayed and frequently in answer to appeals or suggestions from its own representatives. Again and again London was urged, by local leaders as well as its own agents, to do something to establish the position of Britain, but this meant spending money, which the Treasury would not do. An effort to send a financial adviser to Czechoslovakia, although suggested by the Czechs themselves, was finally rebuffed. At the end of the period covered, no decision had been reached about helping Austria. Strangely enough, many of the decisions actually made are given in footnotes rather than in documents in the text. The British representative in Prague was strongly anti-Czech, the admiral commanding on the Danube was pro-Hungarian. Frequently France was pulling in the opposite direction from Britain, and Italy was intriguing against them both. Chapter ii, dealing with the Far East down to April 1, 1920, offers a very different picture. Here British interests—principally but not exclusively British trade with China—were deeply affected by the Japanese attempt to get control of China, and British policy was set forth with clarity and vigor. Lord Curzon, the foreign secretary, used very stiff language in demanding that Japan surrender Shantung to China (as it had stated at the Paris Peace Conference that it would do) and stop molesting British commerce at Tsingtao. The British representatives in Tokyo and Peking exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent Japan from making a loan to China independently of the Four Power consortium. In this they were not successful, but they were able to get Japan into the new consortium and thus keep it "grouped." There were also strong British protests against the Japanese administration in Korea, and to the extent possible, which was slight, they put spokes in the wheel of Japanese activity in Siberia. The contrast between the easygoing attitude toward Central Europe and the constant activity in the Far East is very striking. The most interesting documents in the chapter are those concerning the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Official opinion was sharply divided, and by April, 1920, no decision had been reached.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT, *Alexandria, Virginia*

KEIR HARDIE. By *Emrys Hughes.* (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1956. Pp. 248. 15*s.*) Would it not be well one day to establish a distinction between a form of historical literature which is properly biographical and another which might more accurately be described as a historical memoir? Emrys Hughes, the son-in-law of Keir Hardie, has written a touching and affecting memorial of the man who as much as any other was responsible for the formation of the Labour party in Great Britain. Given the limits of the author's ambitions, and his own continuing involvement in many of the controversies which first moved Hardie, it is not surprising that the

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work is highly subjective. When one considers, however, that Keir Hardie's death occurred over forty years ago, it is obvious that the time has come for a more critical appraisal. The complexities of Keir Hardie's personality remain largely unexplored. The reasons for his numerous quarrels with other Labour leaders cannot be explained simply on the basis of differences of opinion. It was not only Beatrice Webb who moved away from an early encounter with Hardie to note that the man had made "an unfavourable impression" on her. Until Hardie's relations with his contemporaries —friends and foes—are better understood and until his achievement is judged in the context of his times, the true extent of his contribution to the British labor movement must remain unsettled. Hardie requires a sympathetic but critical biographer who is capable of great objectivity. As a biographical memoir, this work by Hughes is commendable; it needs to be read in those terms. Hughes has performed an important service by making selections from Hardie's speeches and writings. It is a pity that the absence of any footnote references prevents easy access to these materials.

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD, *Harvard University*

SAINT JEAN DE BRÉBEUF: LES RELATIONS DE CE QUI S'EST PASSÉ AU PAYS DES HURONS (1635–1648). Edited by *Theodore Besterman*. [Textes Littéraires Français, Number 72.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1957. Pp. xxvii, 228.) The Jesuit accounts of the Indian civilizations of New France at the moment they came into contact with European civilization are invaluable firsthand accounts, as anyone interested in the subject is aware. This volume makes easily available the description of the Hurons and the French mission to them in the years 1635–1648. With two relatively minor exceptions, all the writings of St. Jean de Brébeuf, missionary-martyr, are included. Most of the documents have been previously published, though three of the letters, from private archives of the Society, are printed for the first time. (Fragments of one of the three have on occasion been quoted.) The bulk of the collection consists of the two *Relations,* describing Huron culture and all that went on among the Hurons in the years 1635 and 1636. The other material consists of letters written to Father Mutio Vitelleschi in 1639, 1641, 1642, and 1643; a letter to Father Paul le Jeune, 1637; one to Father Vincent Carffa, 1648; and a manuscript entitled "Instruction pour les pères de nostre compagnie qui seront enuoiez aux Hurons." An introduction by the editor gives a biography of the saint and an account of his death at the hands of the Hurons on March 17, 1649. A glossary provides identification for the various tribes mentioned—something anyone reading the accounts of the early French explorers and missionaries or using seventeenth-century maps will appreciate having at hand for reference. Or am I the only one who can never remember that the "Oniochrhonon" were the Oneida and the "Sononterrhonon" the Seneca? Anyone working on the history of the French colonization of North America or in the field of American Indian anthropology ought to include this volume in his library.

NATALIA M. BELTING, *University of Illinois*

ESSAYS IN CANADIAN ECONOMIC HISTORY. By *Harold A. Innis*. Edited by *Mary Q. Innis*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 418. $8.50.) At the time of his death in 1952, Harold A. Innis had established himself as Canada's outstanding economic historian. Perhaps no other Canadian scholar had achieved comparable international recognition. Innis' reputation rested primarily upon two important books, *The Fur Trade in Canada* and *The Cod Fisheries*. In these works he broke away from traditional national history and, with a wide-ranging view of Canada's position in the North American and North Atlantic environment, laid down

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new patterns that have influenced scholarship not only in Canada but also in the United States and Western Europe. The four Canadian historians who compiled this volume have brought together twenty-eight of Innis' shorter essays, which they believe reveal the development of his thought between the publication of *The Fur Trade* and that of *The Cod Fisheries* ten years later. Some of these papers originally appeared as articles, others as speeches, and others as forewords to books. Some involved primarily economic analysis of current problems, others a historical approach. An essay on the work of Thorsten Veblen might seem to have little in common with one on the church in Canada, and the variety of sources from which the fragments of this book are drawn might lead the reader to expect that the only unifying factor was a single authorship. This, to the credit of the compilers, is not the case. Most of the essays deal with the central theme of the Canadian economy in its various ramifications—transportation, agriculture, lumbering, dairying, manufacturing, and mining —considered in the context of Canada's position in the international economic community. The book thus largely justifies the hope of the compilers of creating a companion piece for Innis' two great volumes. Aside from the defects inherent in any collection of essays not originally intended as parts of an organic whole, the book suffers from a major weakness characteristic of much of the author's writings. His style is tedious, and provocative ideas are often so enmeshed in involved sentences that it requires considerable thought to interpret his precise meaning. The reader may smile at such metaphors as "Canada, with inadequate badly co-ordinated machinery, stands on the one hand in danger of being burned at the stake of natural resources and on the other hand of being boiled in the oil of unrestricted competition." But overbalancing the defects of style is the fact that these essays still contain pregnant ideas. The American scholar, as well as his Canadian counterpart, can profit from Innis' examination of the impact of American institutions and techniques on the Canadian economy. One may not, probably will not, enjoy reading Innis, but no economic historian of North America can afford not to read him.

JOHN S. GALBRAITH, *University of California, Los Angeles*

OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN MEDICAL SERVICES, 1939–1945. Volume I, ORGANIZATION AND CAMPAIGNS. Edited by *Lieutenant-Colonel W. R. Feasby*. (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier; distrib. by Dept. of Public Printing and Stationery. 1956. Pp. xii, 568. $5.00.) Military history is, or should be, much more than a tale of high command and the exploits of combat troops. The less spectacular side of war, the side of the services, is also vital and sometimes just as dramatic. Full-scale medical histories of World War II are now being produced in the Commonwealth countries and the United States; future historians of the British-American war effort will therefore have little excuse for neglecting the medical aspect. The authors of the present volume devote a third of their space to detailed accounts of the Canadian army's medical service in campaigns. The accounts, fortified with excellent maps, are useful; they would be more so if the composition, equipment, capabilities, and command relationships of the various types of field unit referred to were more fully described. The remainder of the book covers a variety of topics, such as the army's medical organization in Canada and the volunteer ancillary services (Red Cross, etc.). There are also special chapters on the medical services of the navy and air force, the physical examination of recruits, the procurement of doctors and other medical personnel for the armed forces, the health service in war plants, and other related subjects. The chapters on the air force are particularly good. An important change in Canadian medical organization, which occurred early in the war, was the supersession of a single medical service for the army, navy, and air force with a separate one

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for each. This might be supposed to have caused some controversy, but none is mentioned, and in fact there are few references to disagreements about policy or practice anywhere in the book. Since this is an "official" history, the somewhat laudatory approach will surprise no one. Much more to the point is the fact that the book has plenty of substance for those interested in the military as well as the medical art.

DONALD O. WAGNER, *Washington, D. C.*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop[1]

CORRESPONDANCE SECRÈTE DU COMTE DE BROGLIE AVEC LOUIS XV (1756–1774). Tome I (1756–1766). Edited by *Didier Ozanam* and *Michel Antoine*. [Série antérieure à 1789, no. 459.] (Paris: C. Klincksieck pour la Société de l'Histoire de France. 1956. Pp. cxiv, 392. 3,000 fr.) The story of the King's Secret, as told by Boutaric and Broglie in the last century, is not altered by this volume of documents, but the tragicomic aspects of the affair are underlined in detail. The Comte de Broglie joined the royal yet private diplomatic organization called the Secret in 1752 and remained in it until its dissolution on the death of Louis XV. Beginning in 1756 he was authorized to write directly to the king, and it is these letters which are now published. This volume, the first of two, takes the story through 1765—the years of Broglie's ambassadorship to Poland, his assumption of the directorship of the Secret in 1759, and his first exile. It was an amazing correspondence. In sharp contrast to the laconic, timid, and indifferent king, we have in these letters the persistent, impetuous, and optimistic Broglie. In true "soap opera" style one crisis succeeded another. Twenty years of planning and intrigue failed to prevent the elimination of French influence from Poland. Plans for an invasion of England after 1763 led only to the Chevalier d'Eon's imbroglio with the French ambassador in London, when royal officials unwittingly arrested emissaries of the Secret and seized its papers. Broglie's loyalty won him only antagonism on the part of the royal ministers and, worst of all, of Madame de Pompadour, and, before it was ended, exile for the count—by order of the king himself. Yet through it all he maintained his enthusiasm and a pathetic determination, evidenced by scores of letters, to be compensated for

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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his troubles with money, office, and sinecures for himself and his brothers. These documents are an eloquent indictment of the Old Regime. The editors in their excellent introduction might well have remarked on this point.

GORDON H. MCNEIL, *University of Arkansas*

RAYNAL ET SA MACHINE DE GUERRE: L'*HISTOIRE DES DEUX INDES* ET SES PERFECTIONNEMENTS. By *Hans Wolpe*. [University Series, Language and Literature, Volume XV.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1957. Pp. 252. $3.75.) Raynal's famous book had three principal editions, 1770, 1774, and 1780. What Dr. Wolpe set out to do and successfully accomplished in this workmanlike and very readable monograph is to show how Raynal made his opus more inflammatory with each succeeding edition. It is both interesting and valuable to have this demonstrated, for it allows us to gauge more accurately than could be done before the crescendo of radical thinking in France. Raynal's economic and sociological views were often self-contradictory, as is demonstrated incidentally in Wolpe's fourth and fifth chapters, where he might perhaps have been sterner with Raynal. Whatever Raynal praised or blamed in his far-ranging book, his implication always was that whatever is, is wrong. He said this with much more emphasis in his edition of 1780 than before. Wolpe proves that Raynal was a surprisingly assiduous researcher, constantly reworking his text and keeping it up to date. Students of Diderot will be particularly interested in the detailed appendix dealing with the much disputed problem of the extent of Diderot's contribution to the *Histoire des Deux Indes*. From a study of the apposite documents in the recently available Fonds Vandeul of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Wolpe shows that Diderot's contribution to the edition of 1774 and especially to that of 1780 was very considerable.

ARTHUR M. WILSON, *Dartmouth College*

FRENCH PROTESTANTISM AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: A STUDY IN CHURCH AND STATE, THOUGHT AND RELIGION, 1685–1815. By *Burdette C. Poland*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 315. $5.00.) Despite its all-embracing, too ambitious title (which the author admits might be considered misleading), this book is primarily a study of the Huguenots during the French Revolution. Dr. Poland presents reasons to justify his exclusion of other Protestant sects, especially the French Lutherans, but his explanation is not satisfactory. In his description of the role of the French Calvinists, the author first attempts to define Protestantism, to estimate the size of the Protestant minority, and to trace its geographical location. He also discusses the so-called "social incidence" of French Protestantism. Then he asserts that the Calvinist peasants "became the most devoted and resolute element in French Protestantism," although in his discussion of the revolution he frequently emphasizes the importance of the bourgeois Huguenots. Before introducing the French Revolution the author discusses the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the persecution and revival of Protestantism in the eighteenth century, and the Edict of Toleration that gave limited rights to the French Calvinists. He describes the role of the Huguenots during the French Revolution and devotes considerable space to a consideration of the question as to whether the French Calvinists were patriots or conspirators. He shows how the "Reformed Church" collapsed during the radical phase of the Revolution (1793–1795). Later, he relates, Napoleon granted the Huguenots certain rights, provided that their church "be subordinated to the state." By that time, the author claims, the French Calvinists were "spiritually exhausted." As stated on the publisher's jacket, the author, "contrary to usual opinion . . . finds that the Protestants were in almost every politcial camp. . . . He also reveals

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that they were Frenchmen first and churchmen second, and that they were not a conspiracy against the altar and the throne of France." Unfortunately, Poland did not finish his assignment. He has made good use of the printed materials available but apparently has not examined the unpublished documents that exist in various archives and libraries of France, especially in Paris and in the Midi. This he must do before his conclusions can be finally accepted. The book grew out of a doctoral dissertation and still retains the characteristics of this type of historical work, such as occasional faulty organization (see chapter v) and uneven style. It includes helpful appendixes, a bibliography, index, and maps.

FRANKLIN C. PALM, *University of California, Berkeley*

L'ARTILLERIE DE CAMPAGNE FRANÇAISE PENDANT LES GUERRES DE LA RÉVOLUTION: ÉVOLUTION DE L'ORGANISATION ET DE LA TACTIQUE. By *Matti Lauerma*. [Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Ser. B, Tom. 96.] (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters. 1956. Pp. 349. 1,300 mk.) The author of this volume of military history was an artillerist in the Russo-Finnish War of 1939–1940. That experience added a keen interest in artillery to older interests in history and France. In preparing this book he tapped the war archives in Paris as convention dictates he should, but most of his sources were published. The work is of wider scope than its title suggests. An excellent introductory section outlines the evolution of the field gun and artillery organization and tactics under the Vallière, Liechtenstein, and Gribeauval systems before the Revolution. For many readers the high point will come in the chapters on Napoleon. Lauerma dwells on the theorists preceding Bonaparte, Guibert and Mesnil-Durand, the brothers Du Teil and Scherer, but he does not disparage genius. Bonaparte practiced an art, not formulae, and allowed these masters "to forge arms for him, but not chains." Lauerma adds two critiques of Bonaparte, one by collaborators, another by enemies, and concludes with a sketch of field artillery development from 1815 through World War II. Students of Napoleon and general military history will welcome this thoughtful synthesis. Lovers of guns will delight in some of its details.

PAUL WALDEN BAMFORD, *Ohio State University*

L'AFFAIRE DU MASQUE DE NAPOLÉON. By *Eugene de Veauce*. Preface by *Paul Fleuriot de Langle*. (Lyon: Bosc Frères. 1957. Pp. 236.) After the death of Napoleon, Count Bertrand asked the Surgeon Antommarchi to make a death mask. Sir Hudson Lowe also authorized Dr. Francis Burton, of the Sixty-sixth Infantry stationed at St. Helena, to make one. Burton obtained crude gypsum from a remote part of the island and prepared it by a process taking some forty hours, although the climate demanded speed. Both Antommarchi and Burton applied the plaster. When Burton returned the next day, the part which covered the face was gone. It was in the possession of Countess Bertrand, who refused to give it up and took it to England, where customs officers demanded it. Antommarchi and the Bertrands managed somehow to spirit it away, despite Burton's efforts to prevent this by court injunction. Apparently, it went to Canova at Leghorn, through Lord Burghersh, British envoy in Florence, and finally got back to Burghersh, supposedly as a gift from Canova. Antommarchi's mask, later known as the Burghersh mask, was sold in 1951 to the Baroness de Veauce, who took it to Paris. The details of the confused and complicated story of this and other extant masks make a convincing and interesting book. Unfortunately, the footnotes are chaotic, particularly because of frequent use of *op. cit.* with no clue as to author or title cited.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUYNN, *Frederick, Maryland*

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EDGAR QUINET: A STUDY IN FRENCH PATRIOTISM. By *Richard Howard Powers.* [Arnold Foundation Studies, New Series, Volume VII.] (Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 207. $4.00.) Mr. Powers undertakes to explain the sources and nature of Quinet's particular brand of nationalism. It is a difficult task. For Quinet, always impassioned, was remarkably vague and apt on occasion to dissemble his beliefs in order to serve an overweening ambition for academic promotion and public acclaim. Yet, on the whole, Powers has discharged the task well. He shows the influence on Quinet, in turn, of ancestral Protestantism, sympathy with the Revolution, infatuation with Napoleon, contact with Madame de Staël and through her with German idealism, romanticism, and "modernized" Christianity, fleeting friendship with Chateaubriand and Cousin, and one more enduring with Michelet. An embattled left-wing patriot in the Revolution of 1848, Quinet became, like Victor Hugo, so disillusioned a Bonapartist as to exile himself from France throughout the Second Empire. Then, on the morrow of Sedan, he returned, an enthusiast for a "fight to the finish" with the Germans and the Catholic church. The nationalism of Edgar Quinet finally emerged as a curious blend of humanitarianism, liberalism, and intolerance. Every nation, according to him, has a mission, and that of France, "synonymous with the Revolution," is "to lead humanity into the bright dawn"; France incidentally should "regain" the Rhineland and Belgium, but what chiefly thwarts her mission is the Catholic church, and against this must be employed state education and even physical force. Here is the gospel of Jacobin Radicals of the Third Republic, and how "dated" it now seems, eighty-two years after Quinet's death, when a Radical French president pays a state visit to the Pope and is received amid strains of the Marseillaise. Personally, I wish the author had stuck a little closer to his central theme of nationalism and had not obscured it by wandering off into his subject's philosophic and religious vagaries. The writing, moreover, is somewhat clumsy and sometimes leaves the reader in doubt as to whether he is getting Quinet's ideas or the author's. I think, too, that Herder's influence on Quinet, who as a youth translated the *Ideen* into French, is greatly underestimated. The cultural historian, nevertheless, should be grateful to Powers for resurrecting Edgar Quinet from the limbo to which he has latterly been consigned and in recalling that a "forgotten man" of today was very significant a century ago. The bibliography is excellent, though Robert R. Ergang's study of Herder might profitably have been included.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES, *Afton, New York*

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1871–1914). 2e Série, 1901–1911, Tome XIV (1er JUILLET–4 NOVEMBRE 1911). [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1955. Pp. xl, 779.) This volume deals almost exclusively with the Agadir crisis, except for a few documents on the beginnings of the Turco-Italian War. Some nine tenths of the documents on Agadir were previously published by the French Government in 1912 (*Affaires du Maroc,* Volume VI), but as we can now see from the present edition, they were freely edited at that time; there were a great many unindicated excisions of matters inconvenient for French prewar politics and public opinion. For instance, numerous criticisms of the French chauvinist press by French ambassadors and ministers were cut out; Jules Cambon in Berlin incessantly complained that the leaks and hectoring in the French papers were delaying his negotiations in Berlin, and he repeatedly urged the cabinet to do what it could to restrain the press. Also omitted in 1912 were the detailed reports sent by Jules Cambon to Caillaux concerning the sudden drop on the Berlin stock market in

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early September; these reports seem to substantiate Caillaux's claim that his influence in getting credit withdrawn from Berlin banks frightened Kiderlen-Waechter and made him finally decide to accept the reasonable agreement of November 4. New and interesting are many private letters and telegrams between Jules Cambon in Berlin and his brother, Paul, in London, which criticized with surprising frankness the touchy, self-important, and fuddy-duddy French foreign minister, De Selves (yet both ambassadors carried out their difficult and delicate tasks in complete loyalty to him). The new documents, however, contain almost nothing on the vexed question of Caillaux's secret negotiations with the Germans behind De Selves' back—an alleged impropriety that later caused Caillaux to be bitterly attacked and ousted from his position as president of the cabinet. Most useful is the inclusion of a large black and white map used by Cambon and Kiderlen at Berlin in their protracted proposals and counter-proposals for an exchange of territories in the French Congo area. Kiderlen insisted on and got the lion's share in return for consenting to a French protectorate over Morocco.

SIDNEY B. FAY, *Cambridge, Massachusetts*

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C. J. Bishko

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

Gordon Griffiths[1]

EN MARGE DE LA POLITIQUE BELGE, 1914–1956. By *J. Wullus-Rudiger.* (Paris: Éditions Berger-Levrault; distrib. by Office de Publicité, Société Anonyme, Brussels.

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1957. Pp. xiii, 472. 250 fr.) This book is primarily concerned with the rise and fall of fringe movements in recent Belgian political history, in particular the various forms of extreme Flemish nationalism. Professor Wullus-Rudiger, a Belgian nationalist, writes objectively and exhaustively of the personalities (A. Borms, A. Debeuckelaere, G. de Clercq, and F. Daels) and organizations (Council of Flanders, Front Party, and VNV) that advocated separatism within Belgium and collaborated enthusiastically with the Germans in both world wars. Part of the book is autobiographical, describing the author's role in gaining access to secret German correspondence and to the archives of the Council of Flanders and reviewing his efforts to expose the treason of Debeuckelaere. When does separatism become treason? The author demonstrates convincingly that the more extreme Flemish nationalists worked consistently during war and peace for the ultimate destruction of the Belgian state. These groups never constituted more than a tiny minority of the Flemish population, however, nor did they ever gain much popular support. The author's argument is logical and is bolstered by more than adequate documentation. Yet the sheer weight of documentary evidence overwhelms the reader, and the welter of detail becomes tedious; it is too specialized to appeal to the general reader. Some of the material is repetitious of the author's earlier works. The book stands, however, as a valuable contribution to an understanding of the Flemish movement in Belgium and to the growing literature on fifth column activities and collaboration in World War II.

THEODORE B. HODGES, *University of Notre Dame*

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NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes[1]

CARL REINHOLD SAHLBERG: LUONNONTUTKIJA, YLIOPISTO-JA MAATALOUSMIES, 1779–1860. By *Uunio Saalas.* [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, XLVII.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1956. Pp. 480.) At a scientific conference held in

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Germany in 1924, a speaker observed that Finland was the only country in which there had appeared an "entomological dynasty" that spanned four generations. Its present-day representative, Professor Uunio Saalas, has wisely chosen to use the leisure of retirement to write about his distinguished forebears. His first study deals with the dynasty's founder, Carl Reinhold Sahlberg, who served as professor of natural science at the University of Turku and Helsinki from 1818 to 1841 and contributed greatly to the advancement of the biological sciences in Finland. His insect collection was internationally known; he established a natural science museum and an arboretum for the university; he was one of the founders of the Societas pro Fauna et Flora Fennica and served as its chairman for twenty years; he wrote extensively, one of his major contributions being *Dissertatio entomologica Insecta Fennica enumerans.* After retiring from the university, he established a model orchard on his estate with over 1,200 fruit trees. Focusing almost exclusively (albeit competently) on Sahlberg's scientific career, the biography tells one virtually nothing about his personal life and disappointingly little about his time. There are, however, a few refreshing exceptions. Sahlberg's term as rector of the university ended in June, 1825. With great relief he wrote to a friend the following day: "Early tomorrow morning I shall leave this place as happy as a musician."

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN, *Heidelberg College*

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Fritz T. Epstein[1]

DIE VORGESCHICHTE DES KULTURKAMPFES: QUELLENVERÖFFENTLICHUNG AUS DEM DEUTSCHEN ZENTRALARCHIV. Edited by *Adelheid Constabel*. Introduction by *Fritz Hartung*. [Schriftenreihe der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung, Number 6.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1956. Pp. 366. DM 27.20.) The first source collection to be published by the (East German) *Deutsches Zentralarchiv* deepens our understanding of the *Kulturkampf*'s origins (1870–1872) without affording any basis for reinterpreting them. The collection's scholarly imprint, evident at once in Professor Fritz Hartung's temperate introductory comment, augurs well for the archive's future publications. An informative selection has been made from documents of the Prussian Ministry of Cults, the protocols of the Prussian *Staatsministerium*, and the correspondence of William I and his consort. Although Empress Augusta's sympathy for Catholic interests has long been known, her letters reveal a concern for the German hierarchy and an ardor for the papacy's temporal sovereignty that goes beyond previous estimates of her attitude. Her insistence that Germany give diplomatic support to Pius IX in his quarrel with the Kingdom of Italy could be seen in fuller perspective if the collection had included Foreign Office documents, an omission the editors pointedly regret. Later stages of the *Kulturkampf* cannot, of course, be dissociated from Bismarck's diplomacy; he eventually brought the conflict to an end by diplomatic rather than parliamentary means. Here, Bismarck's role has

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been slighted in order to concentrate on the Prussian Ministry of Cults's handling of a wholly domestic quarrel about civil rights and the legal aspects of church-state relations. Between 1870 and 1871 neither church nor state took an intransigent attitude. Early in 1872 the state became aggressive when Falk replaced Mühler as Minister of Cults. The documents show the latter to have been a stronger man than contemporary opinion has depicted him. Mühler upheld the Prussian civil servant's responsibility for the rule of law, though Falk, by virtue of his experience in justice administration—and his liberal temperament—had a clearer insight into the consequences of excommunication for civil liberty (contrast Doc. 126 with Para. IV of Doc. 159). Falk's memorandum of March 25, 1872 (Doc. 159) and the ministerial conference of August 3–4 (Doc. 223) presaged a deliberate sharpening of the conflict. The Empress raged anew at what she called "government provocations." For want of formal channels between church and state—the Ministry of Cults had suppressed its Catholic bureau in 1871—the Prussian bishops' remonstrance of April 11, 1872 (Doc. 163) appealed vainly to "traditional rights" and "organic relationships," utterances more appropriate to Frederick William IV's reign. The powerful liberal tide in German national life had sanctioned another style, the one embodied in Falk's legalistic memoranda upholding the supremacy of civil law.

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THE EMPRESS FREDERICK: DAUGHTER OF QUEEN VICTORIA. By *Richard Barkeley*. Foreword by *G. P. Gooch*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 321. $6.00.) The collapse of Germany in World War II has led historians to re-examine the past in an effort to explain the German tragedy, and they have turned naturally to the formative age of Bismarck. An important facet of this period is illuminated in this well-written biography of Victoria, Princess Royal of Great Britain, who in 1858 became the bride of the Prussian Crown Prince Frederick William (later Frederick III). Relying primarily on her letters to Queen Victoria which Sir Frederick Ponsonby edited and following Erich Eyck's interpretation of Bismarckian Germany, the author has written an engrossing account of the outspoken Englishwoman whose liberal sympathies made her anathema to Bismarck. She had been taught by her father Albert that the future greatness of Germany depended upon the successful union of constitutionalism and national unity, and her husband shared this view whether he derived it from her, as contemporaries charged, or from Albert, as Dr. Barkeley has suggested. In any case, it is evident from the Danzig episode, in which the Crown Prince publicly disavowed Bismarck's course of action, that her advice was decisive at crucial moments. The possibility that the royal couple might liberalize Germany was destroyed by the longevity of William I and the discovery that the Crown Prince had cancer. He was dying when he became emperor in 1888, and after ninety-nine days he was succeeded by William II, whose political ideals had been inspired by the Iron Chancellor. Even in her relationship with her son, the Crown Princess had failed. Bismarck's implacable animosity toward the royal couple is a major theme in the biography, and one could wish that a more extended treatment had been given to the complex motivation that shaped his policies toward them. It would also be helpful to know more about the liberals who drew courage from the example of the royal couple.

CORINNE COMSTOCK WESTON, *University of Houston*

HANS DELBRÜCK ALS KRITIKER DER WILHELMINISCHEN EPOCHE. By *Annelise Thimme*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Heft 6.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1955. Pp. 166.) This little book should be of special interest to historians who may wonder whether the study of history

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gives a man a better understanding of his time and its problems than that possessed by people not trained in history. Hans Delbrück was a trained historian and editor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher* for the fateful generation which ended in 1919. During this time he wrote monthly commentaries on Germany's domestic and foreign policies. In her well-documented and balanced study Miss Thimme pictures a man who thought and wrote much about the major issues of his time. He attacked anti-Semitism, bureaucracy, Marxism, party politics, fanatic nationalism, and the three-class system of voting in Prussia; he pleaded the cause of Danish and Polish minorities in Germany; he urged his country to pursue a policy of *Weltpolitik* and to acquire a navy and a large empire, because he believed that an empire would make Germans great as it had done for Englishmen. Delbrück was a nationalist of Herder's cosmopolitan persuasion, one who believed that a sensitive regard must be shown toward the cultural values of other nationalities. He feared war in Europe because it would destroy European culture; during the First World War he even feared a German victory and argued for a peace of understanding based on a balance of power and of cultures. He condemned the invasion of Belgium and the determination of many fellow Germans to hold on to that little country. For Delbrück, Germany's defeat in 1918 was evidence of the bankruptcy of Germany's leadership, a sign that new leadership was necessary. Miss Thimme deserves credit for making it possible for us to reread Germany's history as the living experience of an intelligent scholar.

HARRY R. RUDIN, *Yale University*

DIPLOMATISCHE GESCHICHTE DES ZWEITEN REICHS VON 1871–1918. Buch II, BISMARCKS REICHSSICHERUNG GEGEN RUSSLAND (1879–1884); DER ERWERB DEUTSCHEN KOLONIALBESITZES (1884–1885). By *Friedrich Haselmayr*. (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1956. Pp. 161. DM 11.80.) The second book of Haselmayr's *Diplomatische Geschichte des Zweiten Reichs* carries the narrative from the Dual Alliance (1879) to the Congo Conference (1885). Two main problems are treated: the increasing tension in the Balkans and the growing schism between the German powers and Russia, and German imperial expansion together with the foundation of a German overseas empire. Russia looms large in this volume, as in the preceding one. The author underscores a growing Russian restlessness and the specter of a Russo-French alliance, which led to German military planning for a two front war. Haselmayr explains the Italian alliance as stabilizing Balkan affairs and checking French diplomacy. In the larger picture, the author distinguishes anti-Russian tendencies in Bismarck's policy—especially in the Rumanian alliance and in Bulgarian affairs. He suggests that Bismarck was willing to settle for an Austro-Russian compromise in the Balkans with specific spheres of influence for each. But he also indicates that Bismarck's primary tie was with Austria and that if any choice were to be made, Russian interests would suffer. All this is familiar territory, and while it is covered concisely and cogently, the reader wonders if there is not something more to be said. The Bismarckian attitude toward Russia has been clearly defined, but the Russian side needs elucidation. Haselmayr mentions briefly General Skobelev's indiscreet Pan-Slavism and points out that Alexander III had little sympathy for the German people or German culture. But his information seldom goes deeper than this. Since he has used no Russian sources, he is only able to indicate what is already known from Western materials. This, it should be added, he does well. A brief thirty-page chapter disposes of Germany's entrance into the colonial race. The account is clear and includes a brief discussion of the special contributions made by Adolf Lüderitz and Karl Peters. This section is weakest in explaining the motives for imperial expansion but gives a coherent picture of the diplomacy involved.

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DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918–1945. Series D (1937–1945). Volume VII, THE LAST DAYS OF PEACE, AUGUST 9–SEPTEMBER 3, 1939. [Department of State Publication 6462.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1956. Pp. lxxvi, 670. $3.00.) This volume closes a major gap in Series D. The lines of German policy, though still somewhat blurred, are much clearer than in Volume VI. The second week of August appears crucial. On August 8, Gauleiter Forster of Danzig visited Hitler; that evening Ribbentrop telephoned instructions to State Secretary Weizsäcker for a threatening retort (delivered the next day) to the Polish "ultimatum" to Danzig regarding customs inspectors. A day later Poland stated that it would regard German intervention in Danzig as aggression. The Soviet negotiations too progressed rapidly. Schnurre of the Economic Policy Division, who had discreetly conducted trade discussions, together with Köstring, military attaché at Moscow, saw Ribbentrop on August 8 and received instructions for a conversation with Astakhov on the tenth, when Schnurre inquired about the Soviet attitude toward Poland and about Moscow's objectives in the military negotiations with Britain and France. Ciano learned on August 11–13 something of German intentions in the East, and on August 14, Hitler assured his military leaders that Poland would fight unaided. Very interesting are a few documents on the activities of Veesenmayer, Ribbentrop's man in Danzig, preparing with Forster for an insurrection while raising Danzig's demands on Poland past the point of acceptability. It may be hoped that sources on Danzig—sparsely reported in August by American, British, and Italian representatives there—will some time be supplemented. Nearly one hundred documents deal directly with the Soviet, compared with about thirty for the corresponding period in *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939–1941*. What is most striking is the incredible tempo, once the Germans had decided. Molotov counseled careful preparation, yet Ribbentrop's flight to Moscow to sign the pact that shook the world was arranged on two days' notice. Following it, German pressure concentrated on two points: early dispatch to Berlin of a Soviet ambassador and a military mission, and repeated requests for a Soviet *dementi* (which was obligingly published) of rumors of Soviet troop withdrawals from the Polish frontier. The much-told tale of Anglo-German negotiations is filled in from the German side. Mussolini's vacillation, so dramatically recounted by Ciano, is well documented, as is the violent Japanese reaction to the Soviet-German pact. A series of useful appendixes includes a listing of records of documents so far traced for this period and a table of texts given in the Second German White Book of 1939, which turn out to differ little from the versions in this volume.

REGINALD H. PHELPS, *Harvard University*

DIE WARENHÄUSER IM DRITTEN REICH. By *Heinrich Uhlig*. (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1956. Pp. viii, 230. DM 9.75.) "The large department stores shall immediately be transferred to municipal ownership and the space made available at low rentals to small businessmen . . ." stated point sixteen of the Nazi party program. This work explains the motives of the party in adopting such a point and recounts what happened when it attempted implementation. Hostility to the capitalist retail organizations—the department, chain, and dime stores—provided a ready-made issue with which the party could bid for the support of the resentful. The large number of small shopkeepers and businessmen hated the effective competition; the romanticist intellectual resented the "perversion of the wholesome German socio-economic structure by the Jewish oriental bazaar." As a result, the discussion on the merits of a new retail trade organization was pulled from the academic sphere into the emotional battlefield of politics. Mr. Uhlig sketches the historical background of this development and then describes in detail the attacks on the department stores before and

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after 1933. Before the "accession to power," the attack was carried on by the rank and file from the various party organizations, who pursued selfish economic goals with terrorist methods. Thereafter, under the burden of responsibility for the reduction of unemployment and smooth distribution of goods in an increasingly planned economy, the Nazi party leadership began to turn against the "revolutionary party organizations." The end result of this internecine struggle was that economic necessity and the "political apathy" of the masses won. The battered firms were shored up with government funds and ultimately entrusted with vital functions in the rationed distribution of the *Ersatz* goods in a planned and isolated war economy. This book affords fascinating material for a comparison with NRA and New Deal policies. It is well written and documented primarily from contemporary Nazi pamphlets, periodicals, and tracts (most of the pertinent archives were burned). In spots the chronology is hard to follow, but Uhlig has presented well a narrow slice of history with large and important implications.

KLAUS H. WOLFF, *Middlebury College*

GERMAN EXILE POLITICS: THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN THE NAZI ERA. By *Lewis J. Edinger*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 329. $4.25.) This is an exemplary case study—careful, cogent, and comprehensive—in a hitherto much neglected and now suddenly sprouting research field. Indeed, the study of political parties has of late and at last become a major concern of the social sciences. The "party in exile," however, by its very nature of presenting "a tale of failure and frustration" seems to offer little attraction. Mr. Edinger has courageously seized upon this unpopular theme and has immediately demonstrated its significance. *German Exile Politics* is the story of the once most powerful and proud mass party, suddenly degraded to the pitiful status of a defeated, déclassé general staff without an army. This most unfortunate period presents many important insights into the time—a definition from without of the diabolic character of National Socialism, a clarification of the nature and limitations of opposition to totalitarianism, a sociology of political parties brought down to the essentials of leader-follower relationships in the critical breakdown of the big party machine, the liabilities of the past and the future implications for the postdictatorial democracy. All of these suggestive research approaches are meticulously pursued by the author. What impresses the reader is the executive committee's persistent faith in the potency of reason and in a regenerated democratic humanism of a nineteenth-century pattern (despite the reformists' utter defeat by the irrationalist onslaught and the mounting pressures from the Communists and left radical *Neubeginnen* circles) and, at the same time, the slow evolution of new concepts of a democratic nationalism and undogmatic political responsibility. These seemingly contradictory trends could have been more clearly shown if Edinger had articulated the conflict of generations and the stubborn ideological controversies among the leading exile spokesmen. Some of these intellectual processes are followed up in the outstanding book by Erich Matthias, *Sozialdemokratic und Nation: Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der sozialdemokratischen Emigration in der Prager Zeit des Parteivorstandes 1933–38* (Stuttgart, 1952, pp. 363). This book could serve as a complementary study to Edinger's sociopolitical analysis of the "trustees" of the traditional party, bridging the two social democracies of Weimar and Bonn.

SIGMUND NEUMANN, *Wesleyan University*

DER JOSEPHINISMUS. Band III, DAS WERK DES HOFRATS HEINKE, 1768–1790. By *Ferdinand Maass*. [Fontes rerum Austriacarum, zweite Abteilung, Diplo-

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mataria et acta, Band 73.] (Vienna: Verlag Herold for Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Historische Kommission. 1956. Pp. xi, 498.) Maass's third volume considers the contributions which Franz Joseph von Heinke made to church-state relationships under Maria Theresa, Joseph II, and Leopold II. Eight chapters summarize the Hofrat's labors from 1768 to 1790, and the second part of the study offers numerous opinions and recommendations penned by Heinke, usually in response to requests from Kaunitz or Joseph II. Emphasizing Heinke's sojourn as a young man at Halle under Protestant professors, the author skillfully describes his subject's ever growing hatred for the papacy and his determination to "restore" to the prince all that the church had "usurped." Holidays should be reduced, the tie between generals of orders living abroad and their congregations in Austria should be severed, the pope's claim to a right to confirm and consecrate bishops should be expressly denied, the education of future clerics should emphasize loyalty to state, etc. At times Heinke and Joseph II were not of one mind. The former feared the establishment of a patriarch and a perpetual synod, and the emperor renounced a pet idea. It is clear that Heinke had slight taste for Joseph's attack on the contemplative orders, though he hastened almost indecently to fulfill his master's decree. Maass has previously demonstrated his dislike for most of the Josephinian campaign against the church. His treatment of Heinke, however, is essentially fair. He admits that Heinke was truly in love with the primitivism of the very early church and that Protestant influences never destroyed the Hofrat's allegiance to Roman Catholicism. Heinke's use of historical and religious material was generally astute, and Maass does not attempt to abbreviate unjustly his arguments. The author does challenge Heinke's relapses into illogicality, and he very sensibly offers brief résumés of the varying theological interpretations of points disputed in Heinke's day. The climactic and best-written chapter of the first part of the study concerns Heinke's vigorous defense of his system after Joseph II's death. In the face of denunciations from Migazzi and other Austrian bishops, he boasted to Leopold II of the powers he had restored to the throne and poured scorn on bishops who still feared Rome more than they respected their prince. In this chapter Maass ably depicts Heinke's final and most extreme opinions on church and state, though the greatest value of the entire study is the opportunity to read Heinke's own views as he put them down.

WILLIAM A. JENKS, *Washington and Lee University*

NATIONALISM AND LIBERTY: THE SWISS EXAMPLE. By *Hans Kohn.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1956. Pp. 133. $3.25.) "The present essay on the development and character of Switzerland as a nation," Professor Kohn writes in the introduction to this essay, "is part of a larger study on *The Age of Nationalism,* on which I have been working for some time." The author distinguishes between the "liberal" or "democratic" nationalism of Switzerland, England, and the United States and the nationalism of Germans, Italians, and others that "tended to stress more and more the exclusiveness of ethnic or linguistic groups and to strengthen their combativeness." Kohn wishes to learn first "how far the Swiss experience can set an example for the compatibility of nationalism and liberty and for the peaceful and productive coexistence of various ethnic groups in one common state," and second, whether Switzerland "can also set an example for the growth of unity among the democratic peoples" of the world. He explains the difference between the nationalism of the Swiss and that of their neighbors by noting that "the Swiss achieved constitutional liberty first, and only through its strength found later closer national unity. They had to fight for unity, not against alien governments, but like seventeenth century Eng-

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land or the United States in the following two centuries, in a civil war, in a struggle for the interpretation of the constitution and for the affirmation and broadening of individual liberty." The author emphasizes institutional and constitutional development in the nineteenth century, particularly the story of the events associated with making the Constitution of 1848. This document, he writes, "created for the first time a Swiss nation," but in Article I the Constitution referred to "The peoples of the twenty-two sovereign cantons of Switzerland." The main lines of Swiss history are well known, but Kohn has a good sense for illustrative detail, and he writes about Switzerland with affection and understanding. One wishes that he had devoted more than three pages to the period since 1914 and that the volume could be published as a paperback for student use.

EUGENE N. ANDERSON, *University of California, Los Angeles*

GERMANY

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro[1]

THE BOURBONS OF NAPLES (1734–1825). By *Harold Acton.* (London: Methuen and Company. 1956. Pp. xviii, 731. 50*s.*) With the publication of this highly interesting and well-written volume on the Bourbons of Naples, Harold Acton has rendered a distinct and useful service to students of modern Italian history, for he has supplied a long-felt want for a comprehensive and intelligent account of the rule of this dynasty in the peninsula. Drawing heavily on a boundless wealth of unpublished manuscript material in the Archivio di Stato of Naples, in the rich library of the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, on the diplomatic correspondence in the Public Record Office of London, and on an exhaustive bibliography of printed books, pamphlets, articles, and travel literature, Acton presents a scholarly and well-documented history not only of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily from the accession of Charles III (Don Carlos) in 1734 to the death of his son Ferdinand I and IV in 1825, but also of the significant role played by Spain, Austria, France, England, and Russia in Italian affairs during this period. Quite apologetically the author acknowledges that his deficiency in German made it impossible for him to consult the unpublished and printed sources in that language. This is the more regrettable, since most of the correspondence from Austria, as for example, Emperor Joseph's account of his visit to Naples, was in German. Nevertheless, Acton has succeeded in presenting an unbiased, although, on the whole, a sympathetic account of the Bourbon rule in Naples. Despite the many prejudicial statements that have been made against the Bourbons, especially since the achievement of the political unity of the Italians, Acton quite properly observes that Naples and the Neapolitans owe much of their nature and character to that unique dynasty. Indeed one might add that the virtues and vices of the kings and queens, of the court circles, the statesmen, government

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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officials, and society in general are still reflected in the Neapolitans of our generation. The chief value of the study is the unique revelations Acton makes concerning the social structure of the period. It is well to bear in mind that throughout that entire century, Naples was by far the capital of the largest sovereign state of the peninsula, and since it had so much to offer to intelligent and educated foreigners, it became the chief attraction, if not the goal, of the eighteenth-century tourist. Many foreigners visited the Kingdom during this period, and Sir William Hamilton, the British ambassador, looms high not only because of his marriage to Lady Emma Lyon, but also because of the essentially significant role he played in the historical vicissitudes that followed Nelson's arrival in Naples after the battle of the Nile. The reader is constantly made aware of the interplay of tragedy and comedy in court circles, the intrigues and plots among government officials, and the corruption that resulted from the French Revolution, the Napoleonic rule in the peninsula, and British and Russian policy in Neapolitan affairs. Besides those of the royal couples, particularly impressive are the author's masterly delineations of the characters of Elizabeth Farnese of Spain, Squillace, Father Rocco, Tanucci, Galiani, Vanvitelli, Abbé Antonio Genovesi, Acton, Caracciolo, Luigi Medici, Cardinal Ruffo, Murat, the Archbishop of Taranto, and others. The volume should receive the serious attention of students and scholars.

HOWARD R. MARRARO, *Columbia University*

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EASTERN EUROPE

Charles Morley[1]

IZLAZAK SRBIJE NA JADRANSKE MORE I KONFERENCIJA AMBASSADORA U LONDONU 1912 [Serbia's Outlet to the Adriatic Sea and the Ambassadors' Conference in London in 1912]. By *Dimitrije Djordjević*. (Belgrade: the Author. 1956. Pp. 160. 350 dinars.) Djordjević begins his study with a brief history of Serbia's "urge to the sea." In 1843 Czartoryski counseled the leaders of Serbia to prepare a program of expansion to the Adriatic, and in 1844 the Serbian minister, Ilija Garašanin, released a *Načertanije*, or outline of a program for the future, based upon Czartoryski's recommendations and embracing the idea of expansion to the Adriatic. In the decade before the Balkan Wars, Serbian economists showed a decided preference for acquisition of an Adriatic port, closer to the markets of Western Europe, rather than continued reliance on Salonika. The famous geographer Jovan Cvijić looked upon possession of an Albanian port as an "anti-ethnographic" necessity in view of Austria's drive to prevent Serbian economic independence. Her victories against Turkey in 1912 enabled Serbia to press her claims. The German-backed Austrian foreign ministry would allow Serbia an Albanian port only if she joined an Austrian-dominated customs union. French leaders believed the expansion of the Balkan states would open the way for further investments of French capital, but France would not defend Serbian interests in the Adriatic unless Russia did so even more energetically, and the official Russia of Sazonov feared disturbance of the political equilibrium. Paget, British minister to Belgrade, thought the Serbians "quite off their heads" in their "visions of blue seas and Serbian ships in the offing bringing home the wealth of the Indies." The Ambassadors' Conference succeeded in postponing a general war and temporarily keeping Serbia from the Adriatic. Djordjević's monograph well supplements Ernst Christian Helmreich's *The Diplomacy of the Balkan Wars, 1912–1913*.

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ALBANIA. Edited by *Stavro Skendi.* [East-Central Europe under the Communists, Volume I.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Mid-European Studies Center of the Free Europe Committee. 1956. Pp. xiv, 389. $7.50.) This is the first of seven volumes which the Mid-European Studies Center, a unit of the Free Europe Committee, plans to publish. The work is written and edited by Stavro Skendi, lecturer at Columbia University, in collaboration with four Albanian scholars. The first part of the book (pp. 1–59) is devoted to the historical background of Albania, the land and the people, and it incorporates the results of the latest research. This historical statement is brief, and the reader will be disappointed if he is looking for an authoritative statement on such topics as the origin of the Albanian nation, the Albanian language, and the Islamization of Albania. The second part (pp. 60–137) deals with the country's political system, especially since the Communists took over the government. It includes a brief analysis of the constitutions of 1946 and 1950, the state organization, and the judicial system of Communist Albania, together with a short section on how the Albanian Communist party came into existence and how it established its sway over the country. There is also a discussion of the auxiliaries of the Communist party state—the propaganda organization and techniques and the system of internal security. The third part of the book (pp. 138–254), the longest, deals with the country's economic system and includes production statistics. The statistics would have been more meaningful had they been compared with those of other countries. The fourth part (pp. 255–300) covers cultural and social developments and will be most appreciated by readers because its topics—art, literature, theater, and religion—are usually slighted by Western scholars. Here, too, a comparative approach would have been more valuable to Western readers, who may wish to know how this or that Albanian author or play compares with better-known Balkan or European authors and their works. But the aim of the authors was to prepare a statistical and factual compendium on Albania, and that they have done well. Indeed, their work will have considerable practical value, superseding the World War II British handbooks on Albania.

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CZECHOSLOVAK-POLISH CONFEDERATION AND THE GREAT POWERS, 1940–43. By *Piotr S. Wandycz.* [Indiana University Publications, Slavic and East European Series, Volume 3.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1956. Pp. iii, 152. $2.50.) During World War II, the Polish and Czechoslovak exile governments in London made an abortive attempt to plan for the confederation of their respective states. This important chapter in wartime diplomacy, apart from its inherent interest, sheds considerable light on Russia's postwar aims. The plans for confederation were the aftermath of the 1938–39 crisis which had revealed to both countries the disastrous consequences of their poor mutual relations. The plans reached a high point in 1940 when the confederation appeared to be the logical answer to the problem of the security of small states situated between the German enemy and an unfriendly Russia. The German invasion of Russia complicated matters. The basic reason for the ultimate failure of the Polish-Czechoslovak negotiations was the difference in attitudes toward the Soviet Union between the leaders of these two countries. The Czechs expected Russia to emerge as the dominant power in Eastern Europe and insisted that a Polish-Czechoslovak confederation fit into the larger framework of hoped-for friendly relations with the Soviet Union. The Poles hoped to face a war-weakened Russia and envisaged the confederation as a safeguard against Germany and Russia. When Russia objected to the plans for the confederation, thereby giving early evidence of their postwar aims, the Czechs dropped the proposal and the plan

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died. Piotr S. Wandycz has provided the historian with a scholarly and essentially objective account of this episode. Nevertheless, the author's Polish orientation occasionally shows. Little awareness is shown of Czech suspicions of Polish aims. Could the fact that the Czech leaders evinced less enthusiasm for the project than the Poles not be explained, in part at least, on the ground that the Czechs would be heavily outnumbered in any confederation by the Poles? The author criticizes Western wartime policies toward the Soviet Union, forgetting that the proposed confederation had to play a secondary role to the main objective, winning the war, without which all postwar planning would have been pointless. In discussing the future, the author might be well advised to stress the exile leaders less and to rely instead on leaders who have roots among their people and who have suffered through the many years of Communist dictatorship. Wandycz's treatment of the pre-1939 period could have benefited from reliance on Woodward and Butler's *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–39,* first series, as far as the Teschen question is concerned. It is unfortunate that Polish-Czech relations in the Habsburg Empire were ignored, and Masaryk's and Beneš' World War I plans for the integration of Eastern Europe are also missing. The monograph would have profited from editorial advice to reduce repetition. These comments are not meant to detract from the value of this work, which is an important contribution to a neglected part of World War II diplomacy.

CURT F. BECK, *University of Connecticut*

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Fritz T. Epstein

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer[1]

THE YOUNG TURKS: PRELUDE TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1908. By *Ernest Edmondson Ramsaur, Jr.* [Princeton Oriental Studies: Social Science, 2.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 180. $4.00.) Since the mid-nineteenth century the term "Young Turk" has been applied indiscriminately to Ottomans infected with ideas of reform and Westernization. Even Selim III has been given this label. Dr. Ramsaur's account deals with the Young Turks properly so-called—the end product of a century of reformist thought and effort—from 1889 to the outbreak of revolution in 1908. He tells the story of a conspiratorial movement, which aimed to end the misrule of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, restore the constitution of 1876, and so preserve the Ottoman Empire from further disintegration or European intervention. Without examining in detail the domestic and international situation of the empire that gave rise to the Young Turk movement, Ramsaur sticks closely to his subject, which involves five loosely related organizations and three revolutions, two of them abortive. Four students in the military medical school of Istanbul founded in 1889 the secret organization that was ultimately metamorphosed into the Committee of Union and Progress. Ramsaur traces the vicissitudes of the movement within the empire and of its affiliates in exile. He clearly shows its disconnected character; it was a veritable cave of Adullam, in which personalities clashed and nationalist dynamism conflicted with the ideal of Ottoman brotherhood. In the end, army officers within the empire led the 1908 outbreak without direction from the exiles in Paris. The ideas of the Young Turks were largely an echo of the reformist concepts developed in the 1860's and 1870's by the New Ottomans and others; they achieved new significance because the action was successful. This is the best-connected account of the Young Turk movement in any language, although a considerable amount of material has been published by Fesch, Kuran, and others. Ramsaur consulted a wide range of materials, including not only published sources in Turkish and Western languages but personal communications from some surviving partici-

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pants in the movement. Yet his book is not the last word, for there is more to be done with files of Young Turk publications, with reports in the Ottoman archives by Abdul Hamid's spies and investigators, and with other fugitive sources. Ramsaur's work is sound, and it is most useful to historians to have this sort of study available.

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

Hilary Conroy[1]

NIHONGI: CHRONICLES OF JAPAN FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO A.D. 697. Translated from the original Chinese and Japanese by *W. G. Aston.* (2d ed.; Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books; London: George Allen and Unwin. 1956. Pp. xx, 407, 443. 45*s.*) The *Nihongi,* which was completed in the year A.D. 720, is the first official history of Japan. It is a mixture of legend and fact, with the factual element increasing in the latter part of the work. Probably the chief purpose of its composition was to provide an official history and a recorded lineage for the rulers of Yamato —the most prominent clan of the time. Though its ascendency was challenged it was never overthrown; and from it the present Japanese royal family is descended. So great was the prestige of Chinese learning in Japan at the time that the *Nihongi* was actually written in classical Chinese; and it is believed by many scholars that the Chinese influence strongly affected the content of the work as well as its style. The translation by William G. Aston originally appeared in 1896 in two volumes as Supplement I to the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London,* and has long been unavailable except in major libraries. The 1956 edition is simply a reprinting without change of the translation published sixty years earlier. In these years a considerable amount of work on the early history of Japan has been done both by archaeologists and by students of early texts. Some day we may hope for a retranslation of the *Nihongi* that will make comprehensive use of the results of twentieth-century scholarship. That, however, will be an enormous task, and the time for such an effort is not yet ripe. In the meantime, it is very helpful to have Aston's monumental translation of this fundamental work available in convenient form.

Edwin G. Beal, *Library of Congress*

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA, 1912–1928: AN INSTITUTIONAL STUDY. By *Franklin W. Houn.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 246. $4.50.) Franklin W. Houn, a former Kuomintang government official, has undertaken a structural analysis of the republican governments of China from the Manchu collapse in 1912 to the capture of Peking by the Nationalist armies in 1928. Houn believes that China's failure to adopt successfully Western democratic institutions during these years caused many disillusioned Chinese later to turn to Communism. Although he has searched extensively in Chinese as well as Western materials, the author confesses that he was often obliged to resort to "sound logic" because these sources con-

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tain so little on the actual operation of the governments in Peking. Three quarters of Houn's volume is devoted to the years prior to the death of President Yuan Shih-kai in 1916. China then lacked such commonly assumed prerequisites for successful democratic government as a vigorous and informed public opinion, strong political parties, an established and legal opposition, and civil authorities free from threats by the military. Nevertheless, Houn believes that, these deficiencies notwithstanding, democratic government might have taken root in China had the government structure been more perfect. In particular, he argues that the failure of the Provisional Constitution of 1912 to provide adequate means for preventing deadlocks between the legislative and executive branches contributed significantly to the break between Yuan Shih-kai and his parliamentary critics in 1913 and assured the triumph of warlordism after Yuan's death. Houn also feels that democratic ways might have prevailed even under the defective Provisional Constitution if Yuan Shih-kai's armed forces and "the old imperial officialdom had been completely wiped out" by the Revolution of 1911. Such a drastic step, he believes, would have permitted convinced republicans to compromise their differences in peace. Despite a number of doubtful generalizations, Houn's short study adds substantially to the literature on an extremely confusing period in modern Chinese history.

WILLIAM R. BRAISTED, *University of Texas*

DOCUMENTS ON COMMUNISM, NATIONALISM, AND SOVIET ADVISERS IN CHINA, 1918–1927: PAPERS SEIZED IN THE 1927 PEKING RAID. Edited, with introductory essays by *C. Martin Wilbur* and *Julie Lien-ying How*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 617. $8.75.) Dr. C. M. Wilbur and Miss Julie Lien-ying How, to whom Wilbur gives major credit for the book, have produced the first scholarly effort to make available and to evaluate some of the most important documents that were seized by the Chinese authorities from the offices of the Soviet military attaché in Peking in April, 1927. Some 324 of these documents, it is true, had been previously published in Chinese and about 50 in English, but they have not been of great value to the historian because they were difficult to evaluate and in some cases available only in secondhand translation. For the most part, the documents in this book have not been available before in English. There are materials dealing with the early history of the Chinese Communist party; its organizational policies; the years before the Northern Expedition when Soviet agents, Chinese Communists, and the Kuomintang worked together; the internal quarrels of the movement; the policy of the Communists toward the mass movement; the efforts of Soviet agents to start a revolution in the north; and reports written during the Northern Expedition. Preceding each of these six sections is a valuable analytical and historical introduction, and the whole collection is prefaced with a discussion of the problems involved in the question of authenticity—no easy matter. It is still not known where the original documents are located; Soviet denials of authenticity and the doubts of some contemporary correspondents (e.g., Randall Gould), the obvious motives of Chang Tso-lin, the tests of orthography, identification of signatures, internal proof of authenticity or forgery—all must be considered. The authors hold the view that the original Chinese documents are wholly genuine, as are the Russian translations of KMT and Chinese Communist party documents, which stand up well when checked against contemporary sources. The Soviet reports from China also have the ring of authenticity, especially when checked with independent sources such as Chiang Kai-shek's diary. In other words, the authors believe that the documents presented in this volume are authentic and historically valuable material. Their case is convincing. The historian of China, of Russia, and of international

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Communism has every reason to be grateful for this scholarly and exciting documentary study.

GEORGE E. TAYLOR, *University of Washington*

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United States History

Wood Gray[1]

GENERAL

THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE. By *Roger Burlingame*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1957. Pp. ix, 420, xv. $6.75.) For almost a generation Roger Burlingame has served many thousands who sought a useful and highly readable introduction to the social history of technology, particularly in *March of the Iron Men* (1938) and *Engines of Democracy* (1940). This time the author has embarked on something far

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less tangible than machines and their social consequences, but he relies upon a rule-of-thumb social science. In *The American Conscience,* he traces the evolution of American moral attitudes since Puritan times, stressing such themes as the provincial conscience, the Revolutionary conscience, manifest destiny, the regional conscience, the national conscience, and finally, the emergence of an international conscience. "It is the premise of this study," he says, "that American moral attitudes differed from those of the peoples from which we sprang because of a set of special determinants in the formation of our national thought." These consist of three factors: physical and spiritual isolation, the movement of the frontier, and national resources. As a result of this almost exclusively hemisphere approach, he goes as far as the most extreme Turner disciple in ignoring the constant changes that were brought about by the steady stream of European influences since earliest times. To make his case, he presents the history of three centuries of unique American development marked by such moral expressions as Calvinism, the Great Awakening, the Declaration of Independence, the antislavery crusade, the paradox in our moral behavior marked by idealism and aggressive manifest destiny ideas, and the revolt against the Victorian behavior patterns of Mrs. Grundy. By the time Burlingame comes to the Spanish-American War, which he thinks was merely an outcome of an effort to sell newspapers, he has this to say of our widening international horizons: "Only the American core remains—the precious Puritan substance forged and tempered on the frontier—and here must be the last criterion of our moral judgments and the eventual arbitration of our world thought." This type of unilinear approach leads him to ignore practically all equivalent European social and intellectual movements. England and France too had their "conscience" crusades in their efforts to stamp out slavery. To say that the Civil War was a product of two unique "regional consciences" oversimplifies the obvious similarities in the contemporary secessionist movements in central Europe. Burlingame has raised a question of national psychology that has often intrigued us, but it is doubtful whether his method will bring any sound solutions. Most of us would agree that we do have a tendency "to seek moral reference points for American aims and deeds," but it is important to know to what extent this is unique with us. Much the same thing has been said about the English and other groups. The author states frankly that the book is not intended for scholars, and he adds little that is new in either facts or interpretations. However, the average reader will enjoy his vigorous, absorbing style and the intrinsic interest of a popularized story of the American mind.

HARVEY WISH, *Western Reserve University*

HELLAS OBSERVED: THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE OF GREECE, 1775–1865. By *Stephen A. Larrabee.* (New York: New York University Press. 1957. Pp. xv, 357. $6.00.) Within recent years scholars have displayed an interest in American influences abroad and the attitudes of foreign-speaking peoples toward the United States. Professor Larrabee's book reflects such an interest and follows the path blazed by Halvdan Koht and Richard Heindel. What is more, the author promises at some future date to give us another volume dealing with the period since 1865. The American interest in Greece is at least as old as the American nation. Pilgrims, naval observers, philhellenes who both prayed and fought for Greek independence, humanitarians who in their inspiring fashion furnished the Greeks with supplies, evangelists, teachers, seafarers, scholars, and others traversed the shores of Greece from 1775 to 1865 and left accounts of their experiences and impressions. Little doubt is left in the mind of the reader about how extensive the interest of the Americans was in this historic land during the later days of Turkish rule and the early days of Grecian independence.

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Larrabee, a professor of English rather than a historian, writes with sympathy and understanding as well as historical insight. He traveled extensively in the United States mining manuscript sources and obscure printed materials and also worked in the famous Gennadius Library in Athens. He relied basically on English language sources; still, he has written a comprehensive account which probably will become the standard treatise on the American spirit in Greece for many years to come. We now have a good treatment of the American image, but not of the Greek image of America. Obviously this was beyond the intentions of the author. Some readers may find fault with the details and the names that are paraded forth, and others may have wished for a more incisive and analytical account, yet the scholar with a genuine appreciation of Greece and the American interest in this stricken land will welcome this volume and await with keen interest the subsequent study that the author promises will carry the story down to the present.

THEODORE SALOUTOS, *University of California, Los Angeles*

AMERICA AND THE BRITISH LEFT: FROM BRIGHT TO BEVAN. By *Henry Pelling*. (New York: New York University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 174. $3.50.) America as seen through British eyes, any British eyes, is always of some interest. To the growing literature on this subject, Dr. Pelling's *America and the British Left: From Bright to Bevan* is a well-informed addition based upon readings in printed and unprinted sources in both Britain and the United States. Pelling begins with the obvious, namely that Bright liked the United States and that Bevan, apparently, does not, and he attempts to explain this change. The explanation is equally apparent: Bright would not recognize the United States of Eisenhower any more than Bevan would the United States of Lincoln; nor perhaps would Bright and Bevan recognize one another, in view of the differences between republicanism and socialism. Circumstance changes, and with it opinion. Pelling's book is mainly a chronicle of opinion, since he has chosen to ignore for the most part the impact of opinion upon policy. Within these self-imposed limits he has produced a monograph that will prove indispensable for students of a subject that is, in terms of consequences, relatively unimportant until the period after World War II when Attlee had the power and Bevan had the words. If perchance Mr. Bevan is some day rendered permanently discreet by the right wing of the British left, the relations between Pelling's two subjects may once again improve, perhaps to such an extent that Pelling, or someone, may try to look at the British left through American eyes and produce another monograph: "The British Left and America: From Paine to Pleasure."

BURLEIGH TAYLOR WILKINS, *Shorter College*

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE SWEDISH IMMIGRANT: SELECTED REFERENCES. By *O. Fritiof Ander*. [Augustana Library Publications, Number 27.] (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana College Library. 1956. Pp. xix, 191. $3.00.) In less than two hundred pages this small volume gives well-organized and detailed references to the bibliographical material on the cultural heritage of the Swedish immigrant. Professor Ander has made the large collections at Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, and at the National Archives in Stockholm, Sweden, the center of his book. It is clear, full enough to be usable, and appreciative of the work of others. Its ten divisions cover the necessary fields, and well. Perhaps the Pacific northwest is least thoroughly covered, but the dispersion of materials there is greater than elsewhere. The author points out that the papers of the Swedish American Historical Museum at Philadelphia are not included in this catalogue; those interested in this field of research must bear this in mind. The introductions are brief, inclusive, and well

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phrased. The research has been extensive and intensive, and the product adds to the high reputation the author has already earned in the field.

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN, *University of Southern California*

THE MEN WHO MADE THE NATION. By *John Dos Passos.* [Mainstream of America Series.] (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1957. Pp. 469. $5.95.) In this study of "the architects of the young republic" John Dos Passos presents a sort of group portrait of the statesmen of 1782 to 1802, depicting a crucial period of American history. The volume is one in the Mainstream of America series, edited by Lewis Gannett, and it adheres admirably to the purpose of this effort to tell history in terms of the people who made it. It is good to have this sort of book, showing each of the great Americans of this time, but showing them in relation to each other. It is the defect of much biography that the central figure must appear the sun around which the others revolve. Here we have Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Franklin, Adams, Madison, Monroe, and others moving together and acting upon and reacting to each other. The advantages of such perspective are most evident in a year of many official Hamilton biographies. The argument over funding and assumption is given a careful treatment it does not always receive, showing that the differences were not over whether the debt should be met but over the means of meeting it. The view of Washington in his second term is that put forward by Joseph Charles of an aging man pretty much in the hands of Hamilton. Otherwise, he is a figure of towering dignity and glacial reserve. Jefferson receives a treatment so generous that it may too much diminish Madison. John Adams is dealt with quite charitably, and his mistakes, in the main, are put upon Wolcott, Pickering, and Hamilton. Aaron Burr, as shown by Dos Passos, fits the description of him attributed to Hamilton: "His public principles have no other spring or aim than his own aggrandisement." The Reynolds affair, which caused Hamilton so much anguish, is given somewhat larger public importance than many have attributed to it. But Dos Passos takes himself out of the "either or" classification in the Hamilton-Jefferson rivalry by a nice concluding picture of Jefferson placing the bust of Hamilton in his gallery of the great. This book is based for the most part upon well-known sources and makes no startling new disclosures, but it reflects the author's thorough understanding of the forces of history and is presented in a clear, readable style.

J. R. WIGGINS, *Washington, D. C.*

FROM MERCHANTS TO "COLOUR MEN": FIVE GENERATIONS OF SAMUEL WETHERILL'S WHITE LEAD BUSINESS. By *Miriam Hussey.* [Industrial Research Department, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania Research Studies XXXIX.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 149. $5.00.) This painstaking review of the voluminous records of a small family firm, from 1784 to 1896, is a useful addition to nineteenth-century business history. The author culled from 818 volumes of ledgers and account books a remarkably complete story of price movements, wage standards, profits and losses, distribution methods, and credit policies in Samuel Wetherill's Philadelphia business. Surviving records proved inadequate when the author turned to discussion of managerial and personnel policies, but her understanding of technical processes in the manufacture of white lead, combined with her data on wage rates, provides her with shrewd guesses as to the causes for the extremely high rate of labor turnover she reports. Miss Hussey confines herself to a very narrow context, avoids analysis of the men whose business she describes, and hazards only the most modest generalizations on the basis of the substantial evidence she presents. Her work, nevertheless, is a valuable

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case history of a small business that remained small and successful until its product was made obsolete by modern chemical discoveries.

ROBERT A. LIVELY, *Princeton University*

THE COURTSHIP OF MR. LINCOLN. By *Ruth Painter Randall.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1957. Pp. xiv, 219. $3.75.) The wooing of Mary Todd—a gay, pretty, urbane, well-born visitor to Springfield—by the sometimes unmannered, usually captivating, and frequently exasperating swain of the frontier, Abraham Lincoln, is recounted from their first introduction in the winter of 1839–1840 until their joyously defiant wedding on a Friday evening in the autumn of 1842. To Mrs. Randall it is at once "a period piece" and "a great American love story, whose dramatic elements . . . outstrip most works of fiction." And so, indeed, it is; all of the requirements of the boy-girl formula are present. Actually, the tale might be subtitled *Gentle Passions on the Prairie,* so peopled is it with "subsidiary lovers" whose emotions are projected against the background of prevailing custom in the interpretation of the romance of the principal characters. Despite its elusive theme and the inevitable intangibles from which it emanates, this is a work of vivid and discriminating scholarship. For want of contemporary evidence, Mr. Lincoln's earlier attachment (if attachment it may properly be said to have been) to the mist-hidden Ann Rutledge is dismissed with the statement that he "grieved deeply, as did the whole community, over the pity and sadness" of her death. But his stupid, groping, perhaps reprehensible philandering with Mary Owens is reconstructed in detail from the many surviving sources. The impulses and forces which irresistibly attracted Mary and Abraham to one another are identified and fully related, but Mrs. Randall has been at pains to set forth those characteristics which impeded and, for eighteen months, interrupted the progress of the courtship. Thus Mr. Lincoln was a victim of indecision, hypochondria, mental perturbation, marriage shyness, young idealism, introspection, dark questionings, and self-doubts. Mary, on the other hand, was nervous, headstrong, impulsive, undisciplined, ill-balanced, impatient of restraint, excitable, and quick to fly into anger or panic and to be irresponsible in both. These were formidable obstacles to overcome and, combined with family disapproval and their own foolish pride, threatened for a time the prospect of lives, either happy or unhappy, together. Posthumously, Ruth Randall is the truest woman friend (not excepting that "dearest Merce") that Mary Lincoln has ever had, and yet this disposition has not blurred the well-considered judgment that "the sum of her qualities did not add up to greatness, but she had a great love." The book contains a "Bibliographical Note," but no critical apparatus. It is comforting, therefore, to those who would further pursue the subject, to know that the original manuscript, now in Mrs. Randall's hands, "has full documentation."

DAVID C. MEARNS, *Washington, D. C.*

THE SABLE ARM: NEGRO TROOPS IN THE UNION ARMY, 1861–1865. By *Dudley Taylor Cornish.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1956. Pp. xiii, 337. $6.00.) There are not many aspects of the Civil War that remain as inadequately covered as the subject of this book. Professor Cornish, of Kansas State Teachers College at Pittsburg, has gone a long way toward remedying this deficiency. As his text and his excellent and useful critical bibliography make clear, he has used well the abundant official and unofficial records and memoirs to reconstruct the developing course of the Union's use of Negro troops, from the aborted attempts to offer volunteers in the early days of conflict to the entry of General Weitzel's XXV Corps into Richmond in the closing hours of the war. While this study is confined primarily to

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the combat uses of Negroes as opposed to labor and garrison functions, it necessarily analyzes the development of administration and army policies toward Negro recruitment, organization, arming, training, and employment in all of their phases. It also gives close attention to the development of critical public attitudes and attitudes of white officers and troops, especially as reported by the more important contemporary newspapers and by sensitive participant observers like Charles Francis Adams, Jr. The efforts of Daniel Ullmann and Lorenzo Thomas, as well as the better-known roles of Lane, Hunter, Butler, Banks, and Governor Andrew, receive fitting attention. The study contains brief but adequate accounts of the appointment of Negro officers and of the operations of the Army's first Officer Selection Board, created for the staffing of Negro units. Although the principal battles in which Negro troops participated are recounted in some detail, commanders' reports and generalized surveys suffice for the bulk of field operations. A preoccupation with numbers and statistics, which cannot always be reconciled with actuality, an unfortunate addiction to clichés, and a topical organization that encourages an episodic and somewhat repetitious presentation mar this otherwise excellent and certainly informative book.

ULYSSES LEE, *Morgan State College*

INSIDE THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT: THE DIARY OF ROBERT GARLICK HILL KEAN, HEAD OF THE BUREAU OF WAR. Edited by *Edward Younger*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xxxvi, 241. $5.00.) Henceforth the name of Robert Garlick Hill Kean (pronounced "cane") will be linked with those of John Beauchamp Jones and Mary Boykin Chesnut to form the top-drawer triumvirate of Confederate diarists. Kean deserves this accolade in view of his intelligence, realism, and ability to express himself, his superb training in liberal arts and law at the University of Virginia, and his matchless position as head of the Bureau of War from which to record the inside story of the Confederate governmental machine. Because Kean was a major chronicler of the Lost Cause, the publication of his diary assumes the proportions of a major event. Kean ably served the War Department as a combination office manager, executive secretary, and researcher who assembled evidence for investigative bodies and courts-martial. His intimate association with the assistant secretary of war, Judge John A. Campbell, allowed him to confide to his diary authentic information on controversial subjects ranging from Seward's maneuvers before Sumter to Lincoln's conduct at Hampton Roads. A close and caustic observer of public opinion, Kean noted with despair the accelerating disintegration of civilian morale, adding penetrating and pessimistic evaluations of the effects of bureaucratic handling of problems of conscription, price fixing, impressment, taxation, and finance. Though passionately devoted to the Confederacy, Kean saw his faith in the adequacy of the men in control gradually weaken. His summary of the causes of the failure of Southern independence (which no modern scholar has handled better) is concluded with one "which in a certain sense may be said to include them all—the absence of a Representative Man, a *leader* in *council* as well as in the field who should comprehend and express the movement. We had no one who approached it. The country by instinct, seeking such a reliance, gave its faith to Lee in vain." Kean's incisive and at times temperamental comments (he did, on occasion, admit to errors in fact and judgment) on the leaders of the Confederacy are so clever, quotable, and damning that they will be alternately disparaged and commended from one round table to the next. Edward Younger has done the masterful job of unobtrusive editing that this remarkable document truly merits.

JAMES W. SILVER, *University of Mississippi*

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AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND THE EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT, 1860–1885. By *Charlotte Erickson*. [Studies in Economic History published in cooperation with the Committee on Research in Economic History.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 269. $4.75.) This well-written book constitutes a chapter in the history of American immigration during the years when the so-called "Old Immigration" was at flood tide. As stated in the preface, the scope of the book is fixed by the legalization by Congress in 1864 of the importation of contract labor and by the enactment of legislation twenty-one years later declaring the practice illegal. The thesis of the book is that contract labor was rare in America during the years after the Civil War. The author has made skillful and accurate use of a variety of source material with emphasis on that pertaining to British, Irish, and Scandinavian immigration. Swedish immigration seems to have had an especial attraction for Miss Erickson, probably because of the unique quality and abundant quantity of source material. She found difficulty in uncovering facts about recruitment abroad, partly because the records of older steamship companies have not been made available to scholars and partly because of the methods employed by immigration agents. She points out that there were certain inherent difficulties connected with the importation of contract labor; one of the chief problems was that of binding the immigrant to the terms of the contract after arrival. The propaganda conducted by steamship and railroad companies and by such agencies as the American Emigrant Company and, above all, the influence of "America letters" were far more effective. In fact, all too many agencies were primarily interested in exploiting and cheating the immigrants, until their nefarious traffic was exposed to the public. When the federal government assumed control of the regulation of immigration, the earliest legislation was designed to prevent the admission of "undesirable" persons—convicts, paupers, lunatics, and victims of certain diseases—rather than to facilitate distribution to places where labor was needed. Organized labor concentrated on efforts to obtain legislation that would exclude contract labor. Miss Erickson concludes that the movement for anticontract labor laws marked the beginning of "confused and unrealistic thinking about immigration on the part of American labor." She also concludes that in spite of a half-dozen contract labor laws, Congress never found an effective method of excluding contract labor, and it became increasingly clear that the effect of these laws on the flow of immigration was negligible.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, *University of Minnesota*

HISTORY OF EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Clarence E. Bonnett*. (New York: Vantage Press. 1956. Pp. vii, 14–573. $5.00.) This is the only extensive history of American employers' associations. An important work of mature scholarship, it comes thirty years after the author's pioneer study and largely fulfills his ambitions to chronicle the evolution of employers' associations, classify them, and delineate their interrelationships with organized labor. Focusing on the period 1860–1916, Professor Bonnett exploits most of the available primary sources. His conclusions are, in general, a welcome addition to business history and a corrective to those labor histories written without balancing perceptions of management's attitudes and actions. Treating his subject chronologically and by industries, Bonnett finds that until the nineties employers' associations were appeasive, aware, that is, of the inherent conservatism of unions and anxious to collaborate with them in limiting production and fixing prices. Belligerent associations are described as a twentieth-century phenomenon, the ironic result of collective bargaining. Surveying American economic development, Bonnett feels the real underdogs have been nonunion workers, nonassociation employers, and consumers, all of whom have

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been victimized by the collusive practices of organized capital and labor. An individualist, he suggests that federal intervention in management-labor relations has strengthened abuses and underwritten incipient American fascism. Content generally to have the reader draw his own conclusions from a mass of evidence, Bonnett nevertheless adds fuel to several professional debates. New machines and mass production have done more, he thinks, to raise our standards than "all the union officials and their collusive association colleagues"; modern workers he finds less skillful and industrious than their predecessors; and he is frank to credit belligerent employers' associations with checking militant labor's march toward a dictatorship of the proletariat and preserving private enterprise. However provocative, these comments enhance the value of the book. Its principal defect is the unpolished, occasionally unclear writing.

C. K. Yearley, Jr., *University of Florida*

PIONEERS IN SERVICE: THE HISTORY OF THE ASSOCIATED JEWISH PHILANTHROPIES OF BOSTON. By *Barbara Miller Solomon*. (Boston: Associated Jewish Philanthropies. 1956. Pp. xiii, 197. $3.00.) Depicting in brief compass the evolution of a federation, including its member groups, each with individual histories, objectives, and methodologies, is not easy. Here we have a sectarian federation struggling with internal and external problems created by successive waves of newcomers of different nationalities, languages, and cultural backgrounds. It was difficult, except in times of crisis, to establish collaboration among their spontaneously organized groups despite closely related objectives. Mrs. Solomon's account of how substantial unity was achieved within the Jewish community is a sympathetic one; it also succeeds well in relating developments within the local Jewish welfare agencies both to the general field of social welfare and to national trends in Jewish welfare activities. A five-page "Note on Sources and Acknowledgments" testifies to the breadth of Mrs. Solomon's researches in the archives of the agencies, in the personal papers and oral recollections of leaders of the Jewish community, and in a wide range of primary and secondary materials on the Boston Jewish community, on Boston and its social services, and on national trends in social welfare and Jewish philanthropy. Despite its localized institutional focus and its compact, at times almost kaleidoscopic, style, this small volume has wide value for those who are interested in the adaption of in-migrant groups to the social institutions of the host community, in the development of social welfare federations, and in the development of Jewish social welfare institutions.

Ralph E. Pumphrey, *New York University*

FREDERIC BANCROFT, HISTORIAN. By *Jacob E. Cooke*. With an introduction by *Allan Nevins*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 282. $4.00.) Frederic Bancroft, born as the election of 1860 approached, grew up in the Lincoln country of Illinois. In the abolitionist climate of Galesburg he could not avoid developing a deep concern with the status of Negroes. His first heroes were Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Sumner, and John Brown. Carl Schurz, whom he came to know and whose biography he wrote, remained a lifelong idol. It was Bancroft's good fortune to attend Amherst, where he came under the influence of Anson D. Morse, teacher of many distinguished historians-to-be. In 1882 Bancroft enrolled in the newly established Columbia School of Political Science. Here, encouraged by Burgess and others, he began his serious studies of Southern civilization and the place of the Negro in it—studies which absorbed him to the end of his long life. Appointed librarian of the Department of State in 1888, Bancroft, as a gentleman-scholar, gladly

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took up residence in Washington, where for the next fifty-six years he reveled in the capital's rich historical resources. He shared the stimulating company of fellow historians, who had deep respect for Bancroft's learning. His critical reviews were equal to the best of his day and were marked, as was all his writing, by the moral earnestness of his generation. His great ambition was to write a large, comprehensive history of the South in the decades before and after the Civil War, but he gradually came to realize he never would complete it and decided to publish his findings on the ante bellum period. His research was vast, but his finished narratives were few; *Slave Trading in the Old South* was his most important work. Appended to Dr. Cooke's excellent memoir are three of Bancroft's essays on the colonization of American Negroes, part of his incompleted history. The second essay, "Schemes to Colonize Negroes in Central America," is a real contribution. James Ford Rhodes once remarked that Bancroft "knew more history and would write less than any one [I] could name." But like so many of his generation he seemed not to care whether he published or not; he preferred to talk and read history. Through the writings he did publish, the materials he gathered, and the handsome legacy he left to Columbia University, Frederic Bancroft remains a vigorous force in the study of American history.

MICHAEL KRAUS, *City College of New York*

DRY FARMING IN THE NORTHERN GREAT PLAINS, 1900–1925. By *Mary Wilma M. Hargreaves.* [Harvard Economic Studies, Volume CI.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 587. $10.00.) The words "Northern Great Plains" in the title of this study cover entirely too much territory, for only that portion between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains in the Dakotas and Montana is actually included in the discussion. Within this narrower scope, the work is detailed, thorough, and comprehensive. With ample consideration for nineteenth-century concepts of the region and general problems of agricultural development, the story sweeps into dry-farming propaganda, local experiments, promotion of the idea, scientific applications, land policy, immigration, and problems of settlement. No doubt it was better to be thorough on a limited area than to spread the study out thinner by trying to cover all the territory from the thirty-seventh parallel up into Canada. Adaptations south and north of the Dakotas can be sacrificed for the more complete study of the region chosen. When Mrs. Hargreaves completes the study in a volume on the period since 1925, as is promised, the major problems of dry farming in the northernmost Great Plains of the United States will be sufficiently pictured for all ordinary use. A word or two of caution, which might be applied to the second volume, would not be amiss. The reader is sometimes puzzled by vague geographical concepts. A resident of Kansas or Nebraska, knowing that the Arkansas, Republican, and Platte Rivers for the most part drain as rich lands as can be found anywhere, will fail to understand that "Many of the prospectors . . . had learned of aridity by experience along the *parched sands* [italics mine] of the Platte, the Republican, and the Arkansas" (p. 28). Again, in context, a passage on page 128 would put the Red River Valley and Devil's Lake in western North Dakota. Obviously, this is only a slip in rhetoric, but the following words also put a Salem and a New Ulm in western North Dakota. There really is a *New* Salem there, but there is no New Ulm closer than Minnesota and no Ulm nearer than the vicinity of Great Falls, Montana, or Sheridan, Wyoming. Could it be a misprint for Glen Ullin (Glenullen)? Also, it would pay to be a little more critical about technology. When I worked on a dry farm in Kansas in 1911, there was no farmer who would risk ruining a crop by repeatedly harrowing young wheat (see pp. 86–88, 144). This vagary alone should have been enough to bring H. W. Campbell into disrepute. After reading ninety-six

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pages about propaganda and fifty-three pages on scientific efforts, I closed the book feeling that perhaps the geographers of a century ago were almost right in designating this country as a part of the "Great American Desert."

FRED A. SHANNON, *University of Illinois*

ENTERPRISE IN OIL: A HISTORY OF SHELL IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Kendall Beaton*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1957. Pp. xiii, 815. $7.50.) Within the past year the histories of two major American oil companies have been reviewed in these pages, not to mention works dealing with other aspects of the petroleum industry. Several more firm histories and specialized monographs in this field are scheduled to appear in the near future. The result of all this effort will require numerous revisions of heretofore generally accepted ideas concerning the development of this important industry. Whereas the other oil company studies recently published dealt primarily with American firms, this is the story of a European combination, the Royal Dutch-Shell, formed in 1907 to "hit back" at Standard Oil and a few other large firms which were threatening the Deterding interests. In less than sixty pages, Kendall Beaton, an employee of the Shell Oil Company, outlines the major developments which took place in the oil fields of Pennsylvania and Sumatra during the latter part of the nineteenth century and explains effectively the background in London and at The Hague for Shell's penetration into California and Oklahoma early in the twentieth century. Beginning with the organization of the American Gasoline Company (1912) "to own and operate Pacific Coast marketing properties" and the formation, in the same year, of the Roxana Petroleum Company of Oklahoma to produce crude oil, Beaton skillfully negotiates the numerous mergers, consolidations, and other corporate developments which ultimately resulted in the modern corporation of today. In the process of tracing Shell's forty-year history in the United States, he contributes much that is new and well worth knowing. Much of the statistical evidence indicative of the growth and expansion of the Shell enterprises in America is relegated to the appendixes, although there is enough in the text and notes to satisfy most readers. Careful students of business and industrial history, however, may decry the lack of detailed analysis, especially with respect to such questions as the evolution of top level administrative and managerial policies, the extent and nature of the influence and control exercised upon the American companies from the offices at The Hague, and the administrative and operational relationships between the American and overseas firms. The same criticism holds with respect to over-all financial policies and certain other developments. On the other hand, research, technology, marketing practices, and numerous other subjects are effectively and interestingly described. The criticisms raised above are not meant to detract from the many useful purposes which this volume can be made to serve. They are cited here only to illustrate the nature of the work; *Enterprise in Oil* is a descriptive, rather than an analytical, administrative history of a business.

VINCENT P. CAROSSO, *New York University*

AMERICAN IMMIGRATION POLICY, 1924–1952. By *Robert A. Divine*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 66.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 220. $4.00.) Like the historians who have shown that the frontier survived its death notices by several decades, Mr. Divine gives an account of the "immigration question" after its supposed settlement in 1924. The Quota Act of that year did not even suspend Congressional debate on the subject. In fact, it precipitated the curious "battle of the Nordics"—in one corner, the Anglo-Saxons who stood by the national-origins method of computing immigration quotas; in the other the Irish-,

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German-, and Scandinavian-Americans who feared the "Anglicization of these United States" unless the quotas were based on the census of 1890. Then followed administrative rulings which constricted Mexican and other immigration during the depression, assignment of quotas to Filipinos (previously unrestricted) in 1934 and to Chinese (previously excluded) in 1943, admission of certain refugees and exclusion of various subversives by 1940, the displaced persons acts after the war, and finally the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952. Divine classifies each of these decisions according to whether economic, social or racial, nationalistic, or foreign policy arguments were expressed at the time. Unfortunately, this is the extent of both his story and his analysis. He has not sought out the social and intellectual currents beneath the surface arguments. For instance, it is interesting to know that between 1924 and 1952 emphasis shifted from immigrants' "racial inferiority" to their "cultural background," but how or why this happened is hardly suggested. For Divine, the "nub of the controversy" over the McCarran bill was the desire of one side to "protect the basic institutions of the country" and of the other to protect "basic American ideals." But what led Americans to interpret Americanism so differently? It is not very helpful to tag antirestrictionists as "liberal circles" or "foreign minority groups" nor to describe restrictionists simply as lobbyists for patriotic societies or organized labor. This book's method marks it as the sequel to Roy Garis' *Immigration Restriction* rather than to John Higham's far more perceptive *Strangers in the Land*. It follows Garis also in gratuitously affirming the wisdom and righteousness of nearly every restrictive policy. The grudging admission during the 1930's of 250,000 refugees (all within the quotas) becomes here "a major humanitarian achievement," while the 337,244 displaced persons accepted after 1945 were remarkable for equaling the number admitted by "Australia and Israel, combined." Perhaps such judgments are justifiable. But in limiting his sources too narrowly to official documents and seldom taking the story far from Capitol Hill, Divine fails to provide convincing evidence.

ROWLAND BERTHOFF, *Princeton University*

THE AGRICULTURAL COMMODITY PROGRAMS: TWO DECADES OF EXPERIENCE. By *Murray R. Benedict* and *Oscar C. Stine*. (New York: Twentieth Century Fund. 1956. Pp. xliii, 510. $5.00.) This is the third and last of a series of studies by M. R. Benedict and associates, sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund, dealing with the concern of the federal government with agriculture. The first, *Farm Policies of the United States, 1790–1950* (1953), presented a general historical account of the long interests of the federal government in agriculture. The second, *Can We Solve the Farm Problem?* (1955), despite its title, was largely concerned with a detailed description of the various federal aids to agriculture since the 1920's. The current volume, in which O. C. Stine appears as coauthor, describes the operation of the score or more federal agricultural commodity programs from the time of their inception in the 1930's to the present. Thus this volume represents an extension of the discussion of the "action" programs dealt with in a general way in the preceding volume. The authors express the hope that "the factual record here presented will contribute to a more informed and logical approach to the farm problem in the years immediately ahead." This might be possible if the book is widely read, for the study does represent an impressive accumulation of data. Unfortunately, the material is presented in a form that will probably discourage all but the most determined students. In format and organization it resembles an outsize agricultural experiment station bulletin. The introduction and summary of findings are combined to make the first chapter, and eleven chapters follow, each devoted to a brief history of the operation of a commodity program or that of a related group of com-

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modities. Much of the material rests on preliminary drafts prepared by staff members. The book is needlessly long, and the narrative is often clogged with obscure and repetitious prose. The conclusions offered will surprise no one familiar with the earlier volumes. The authors accept the idea that the federal government should give financial aid to farmers, but they would like the commodity programs to be based on the factors and circumstances relating expressly to the commodity in question rather than on emergency legislation brought on by depression and war. They look with proper disapproval on programs too rigidly controlled by Congress. They underscore the need for price support programs so created and so controlled that administrators are able to deal with the constantly changing agricultural situation.

VERNON CARSTENSEN, *University of Wisconsin*

THE WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS. By *Mattie E. Treadwell.* [U. S. Army in World War II: Special Studies.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1954. Pp. xxvi, 841. $6.25.) This very readable and carefully documented study of the WAC in World War II is the first official history of any women's military service to be published. It presents the problems encountered in recruiting, housing, clothing, feeding, training, utilizing, and disciplining women soldiers. Miss Treadwell, well qualified for the assignment of making this study by her academic training and long service in the WAC, including high staff positions with the rank of lieutenant colonel, has not hesitated to stress the inevitable misunderstandings and difficulties that arose in handling these various problems and to evaluate critically their solutions in the interests of future planners in the large-scale employment of womanpower. She has also been careful to point out that few problems of the women's corps were unique; they must be viewed in perspective as one facet of the larger Army story. A sprightly historical account of the organization of a women's corps, its rapid expansion to a peak strength of 100,000, with the accompanying stresses of integration into the Army, and finally its demobilization in the closing days of the war form Parts I and IV of the volume. Part II is a careful account of the employment of Wacs in the various components of the Army, for example the Medical Department and in its overseas theaters. Part III is devoted to a discussion of War Department policies concerning the WAC which were necessitated by the fact that equal treatment of men and women did not always mean identical treatment. Contrary to the initial optimistic WAC assumption, the number of special rules required for women had grown to two hundred by the end of the war. Tables and charts of personnel strength and training course content, illustrations depicting Wacs in various occupations and localities, a list of abbreviations, and a detailed index all add to the interest and usefulness of the work.

MARGARET S. TENG, *Bloomington, Indiana*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

HISTORY OF THE FREEWILL BAPTISTS: A STUDY IN NEW ENGLAND SEPARATISM. By *Norman Allen Baxter.* (Rochester, N. Y.: American Baptist Historical Society. 1957. Pp. xii, 212. $4.50.) This work will be of particular interest to specialists in American church history and the history of New England. It is a significant case study in the evolution of a sect into a denomination—a phenomenon which has been characteristic of American religious development. The church was founded about 1780 by Benjamin Randall, a New Hampshire sailmaker and tailor. His preaching contended that the salvation offered by Christ was for all men and that all men had the power of choice in accepting or refusing it, an idea in opposition to the prevailing Calvinism of the area. Randall promptly won a considerable following among the farmers of northern New England. Propagated at first through an itinerant ministry of farmer-preachers, within a generation or two the movement became sufficiently successful to establish a formal program of foreign and home missions and to take part in such social reforms as temperance, antislavery, and freedmen's aid. Denominational journals were established and schools (of which the most important was Bates College) were founded to implement the cause. The decline of Calvinism among Baptists in general and the decline of rural New England during the latter part of the nineteenth century considerably weakened the denomination, and in 1911 the main body of Freewill Baptists united with the Northern Baptist Convention. The study originated as a doctoral dissertation at Harvard, directed by Professor George H. Williams of the Divinity School, and the author is a professor at the Eastern Baptist College, St. Davids, Pennsylvania. As the footnotes and bibliography reveal, Dr. Baxter has used the relevant secondary literature on American social and religious history as well as a variety of primary sources. The author recognizes the impact of secular forces on religion and credits the initial success of the Freewill Baptists as much to social as to theological factors. His research, organization, and interpretation are good, though the literary style is at times somewhat awkward. Everything considered, the book is a creditable piece of denominational history.

IRA V. BROWN, *Pennsylvania State University*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

JOURNALS OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA EXECUTIVE COUNCILS OF 1861 AND 1862. Edited by *Charles E. Cauthen*. [The State Records of South Carolina.] (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1956. Pp. xv, 336. $8.00.) This volume, which leads off a companion series to the highly esteemed "Colonial Records of South Carolina" (1951 ff.), consists of a series preface by J. H. Easterby, a volume preface by the editor, the journals of two quite distinct executive councils, January 3–March 23, 1861 (pp. 3–80, including documents to April 26), and January 31–November 10, 1862, (pp. 83–295), an appendix of notices published by the second council (pp. 299–312), and a fairly good index. The council of 1861 acted as a cabinet to Governor F. W. Pickens during the secession-Sumter crisis. While the reviewer detects no momentous revelations in the council's journal, it does summarize conferences and paraphrase or reproduce documents by the score, thus adding much to our knowledge of day-to-day affairs, especially in Charleston harbor. The executive council of 1862 was created by the "secession" convention over the governor's protest, with

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the governor, lieutenant governor, and three elected leaders of the state as members. Endowed with broad emergency powers, reaching decisions by majority vote, and working largely through the elected members as heads of administrative departments, the council became virtually the government of South Carolina. Most of its actions were directed toward mobilizing manpower for military service and managing the state forces; assisting, and occasionally censuring, the Confederate authorities; procuring, or encouraging production of, such necessities as salt, metals, nitre, shoes, and arms; rigorously limiting distillation of spirits and their sale to soldiers; providing Negro labor for defense work; and suppressing disloyalty. By autumn, public opinion had turned so strongly against the council and the lingering convention that the convention bowed out, and in December the legislature abolished the council. The story of the council has already been well told without benefit of its journal by both the late Laura A. White (*AHR,* XXXIV [July, 1929], 755–71) and Professor Cauthen (*South Carolina Goes to War,* 1950) but the journal affords much fresh detail for students of South Carolina and the Confederate home front.

BARNES F. LATHROP, *University of Texas*

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN TENNESSEE. By *A. Elizabeth Taylor.* (New York: Bookman Associates. 1957. Pp. 150. $3.50.) This is a fast-moving, documented account of the woman suffrage movement in Tennessee from its inception in the 1870's to its victorious climax—state and national—in August, 1920, when the governor called the legislature into special session expressly to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment as the thirty-sixth state, thus making the amendment a part of the Constitution. Because of the state's pivotal opportunity in 1920, the national spotlight was focused on Tennessee and it was subject to outside pressures, these facts enhance the value of the story and provide additional justification for the book. Although theses have been written on the subject, this is the only published book devoted to the Tennessee part of the nationwide movement. It also seems to be the only book on the subject among the various histories of states. Professor Taylor has used some manuscript collections in Tennessee libraries, newspapers, pertinent pamphlets and periodicals, state official records, and interviews. She seems to have restrained herself from using available material as fully as possible, emphasizing readability rather than exhaustiveness. She has named local leaders, though without full identification, described attitudes and prejudices, and given a judicious sampling of arguments. The book is informative, containing much that is entertaining. It is a case study in politics, which reveals that the ultimate success of the Nineteenth Amendment turned not on questions of right or justice but on election year opportunism.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

GRANDEST OF ENTERPRISES: ILLINOIS STATE NORMAL UNIVERSITY, 1857–1957. By *Helen E. Marshall.* (Normal: Illinois State Normal University. 1956. Pp. xiii, 355.) With rare exceptions the histories of colleges and universities in the United States are not contributions to the history of education. Instead, they deal nostalgically with social institutions tinged with snobbishness and pedantically with the administrative measures of regents and presidents. Seldom indeed are such histories concerned with faculty, curriculum, methods, and studies. It is therefore refreshing and heartening to find that Miss Marshall deals unblushingly with Illinois Normal University as an educational institution. She regards buildings, finances, and even presidents, not as ends, but as factors in promoting the educational purpose of this famous state college. The result is a sincere, interesting, and important contribution to the history of American education. Illinois Normal University has had a century of distinguished achievement. Born in poverty, it was nevertheless nurtured in affection and upheld by sacrifice. A surprisingly large number of prominent persons served on its staff, visited its campus, or promoted its growth in some manner. Among the dozens who might be listed the following will illustrate the quality of this goodly company: Newton Bateman, John W. Cook, Richard Edwards, Raymond W. Fairchild, John Wesley Powell, and Nicholas Tillinghast. The author has provided color and reality by utilizing homely images and ordinary events. One can almost stub a toe on the "warped and buckled" planks of that old sidewalk. One shares the intense rivalry that developed between the Philadelphians and Wrightonians. One slumps with weariness at the thought of having to listen to the speeches of the thirty graduates of 1882. And one whoops with professional enthusiasm at the annual roundups of superintendents and principals. One learns to love Old Main and suffers the wounds to sentiment when its floors begin to sag and its crowned dome has to be removed. This book is an achievement. Historians of education should imitate most of its features. The ample supply of illustrations constitutes almost another history of the institution, although Miss Marshall needed no pictures to sustain her text. One closes the book feeling that Illinois, America, and humanity are better off because of the existence and achievements of Illinois Normal University.

EDGAR B. WESLEY, *Los Altos, California*

PRAIRIE AND MOUNTAIN SKETCHES. By *Matthew C. Field.* Collected by *Clyde* and *Mae Reed Porter.* Edited by *Kate L. Gregg* and *John Francis McDermott.* [American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 23.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1957. Pp. liv, 239. $4.50.) Another of the many accounts dealing with travel on the western prairies, this volume describes a trip made in the spring and summer of 1843 by Sir William Drummond Stewart, one of the British hunters who took his retinue out West in search of buffalo and excitement. The chronicler of the expedition was Matthew C. Field, of the New Orleans *Picayune* staff. The Field diaries and letters were to be edited by Kate L. Gregg, but her death left the task unfinished. John Francis McDermott of Washington University completed the editorial work and wrote an introduction. The volume is not as useful as one might expect. A supposedly accomplished writer, given an opportunity to see a good deal of an unsettled land and its occupants, Field spent most of his time relating what he regarded as humorous happenings in camp or otherwise trying to be funny. The reader is introduced to any number of "characters" but does not find out much about the land, for the author had no feel for it. The editing shows painstaking and extensive research. It is too bad the editors did not have more of substance with which to work.

ROBERT G. ATHEARN, *University of Colorado*

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A SIOUX CHRONICLE. By *George E. Hyde*. [Civilizaion of the American Indian Series, Volume 45.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1956. Pp. xix, 334. $5.00.) Time has not solved the Indian problem. The vanishing American is not vanishing any longer. White men are still trying to take Indian reservations away from the tribes. People with the best interests of the Indians at heart still believe that the Indian must be made over into the image of the white American and give up his ancient culture. Indians are still of two minds: whether to leave the reservations or to stay on them, whether to parcel out the reservations in family allotments or to keep the reservations intact. Indian agents are still good and bad, well-intentioned and misinformed. Perhaps it is too much to hope that any of us concerned with today's Indian problem will learn anything from history. Nevertheless, *A Sioux Chronicle* ought to be read not only for the vivid picture it gives of the years 1877 to 1891 among the Sioux but also for the lessons it provides on how not to solve any and all Indian problems. Mr. Hyde sums up those years in the last sentences of his book: "The story . . . has in it much of foolishness, a good sprinkling of downright wickedness, some noble actions, and a goodly count of lessons hardly learned, and, too often, quickly forgotten. That the Sioux had come through so well was mainly the result, one may believe, of their own good native qualities; for they were and are a good wholesome people, who rarely act in an unreasonable or violent manner except when driven to it by bad treatment." Correctly called a "chronicle," the book is a detail-packed description of the period of transition after the last of the Indian wars when the government made the Sioux a captive people upon a reservation and the friends of the Indians were sure that in short order they would be able to transform the "free and roving race of hunters and warriors" to "plowmen" and "day laborers." Hyde does not make the common mistake of picturing the Sioux as noble red men, always sinned against and rarely sinning, and the Indian agents as always corrupt, conniving, wicked, and evil men. He criticizes Indians, white men, and government Indian policy when he feels it necessary, and he makes no excuse for doing so. The book is a major contribution to our understanding of what really happened on the Plains between the whites and the Indians.

NATALIA M. BELTING, *University of Illinois*

THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN JOHN R. BELL, OFFICIAL JOURNALIST FOR THE STEPHEN H. LONG EXPEDITION TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, 1820. Edited and with introductions by *Harlin M. Fuller* and *LeRoy R. Hafen*. [The Far West and the Rockies Historical Series, 1820–1875, Volume VI.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1957. Pp. 349. $9.50.) Major Stephen H. Long, of the United States Topographical Engineers, was commissioned in 1819 to lead an exploring party to the Rocky Mountains, and the following winter and spring were spent in making arrangements. The soldiers, scientific observers, interpreters (for Spanish, French, and several Indian languages), and an artist were gathered at Council Bluffs in early June, 1820. This group left Council Bluffs on June 6 and directed their horses up the Platte toward the mountains. Their anticipation of danger from Indians was ungrounded, for the section of the journey recorded by Bell does not mention any difficulties beyond minor theft. On June 30, the party could discern the peak which was to bear Long's name and turned south from near the present site of Denver. They missed the eastern Pike's Peak area, and the expedition had to turn back and retrace its steps until the peak that had so impressed Pike was found. Dr. Wilson, a scientist, and two civilian members of the expedition were the first white men to climb the mountain. Major Long named it James's Peak, which stood as its designation for some years before Pike's name was generally accepted. At the Arkan-

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sas, the expedition divided. Major Long led a contingent south toward the Red River, and the remainder of the party was ordered to continue down the Arkansas under Captain Bell, whose journal thus covers fully only the Arkansas exploration. The two groups met at Belle Point in the present state of Arkansas on September 24, 1820, and Captain Bell was detached at this point, although his journal continues until his arrival in Washington on November 20. Dr. James, a scientist, also kept a journal of the Long expedition, which was published in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846.* This account was long considered to be the only available source. For some unknown reason, Bell's official journal was never submitted to the War Department and fell into private hands. Mr. Harlin M. Fuller, one of the editors of the journal, discovered the manuscript in San Francisco in 1932. Bell's journal is of primary interest to historians, but observations upon Indian habits and customs are of interest to ethnologists and anthropologists. The five surviving drawings and paintings of the expedition artist, Mr. Seymour, are included in this publication.

DONALD P. GREENE, *Colorado College*

KINGDOM OF THE SAINTS: THE STORY OF BRIGHAM YOUNG AND THE MORMONS. By *Ray B. West, Jr.* (New York: Viking Press. 1957. Pp. xxii, 389. $6.00.) Works on Mormonism are numerous. Why one more? The author states as his aim an attempt "to understand as completely as possible why the Mormons believed as they did, in order to understand why they acted as they did." To the general reader, and that may be whom the author and publisher had in mind, this book gives an interesting, a sympathetic, and an understanding account of why the Mormons and, to some extent, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young acted as they did. In spite of an excellent bibliography, the author does not give the reader any specific indications of the source supporting his facts and many quotations. To criticize a readable and sympathetic study on this score leaves the reviewer open to a criticism of being overly pedantic. But in order to completely understand a writer's handling of Mormon history the serious student is entitled to know specifically what sources the writer is using. Part of the understanding of Mormonism, its leaders, its development as a religion, and as a force in Utah depends upon what sources one uses and how one uses them. If the author had indicated these guideposts to historical knowledge, or perhaps if the publisher had allowed them to be used, the end result would be as helpful to the serious student as to that mythical character, the general reader. The book brings some aspects of Mormon development down to the present day.

W. J. MCNIFF, *Miami University*

PALÓU'S LIFE OF FRAY JUNÍPERO SERRA. Translated and annotated by *Maynard J. Geiger,* O.F.M. (Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1955. Pp. xxx, 547. $8.50.) Written 170 years ago, within three years of the death of its subject, this statement of the life of Father Junípero Serra remains the best work on that theme. The present, profusely annotated English translation is the finest edition available. Mallorcan-born Junípero Serra spent fifty-three of his seventy years as a religious; half of his life span is identified with Franciscan missionary labors in central New Spain and the Californias. The singularly significant phase of his career, between 1767 and 1784, is indelibly stamped on the history of California. As the leader of the Franciscan missionary contingent selected to replace the Jesuits in Lower California, Serra quickly embraced the opportunity which permitted him to push northward into Upper California. In the latter area the string of Serra-founded missions between San Diego and San Francisco became the seedbed of Spanish culture in that region. Palóu's writing is the peculiarly sensitive and sympathetic ac-

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count of a fellow Mallorcan, fellow Franciscan, and fellow laborer in the mission field. Penned primarily for the consolation and edification of other religious, the biography of Serra is heavy with emphasis on the virtues of which his life was compounded: humility, prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance, faith, hope, and charity. Yet the work is more than a joyous recounting of the triumph of spiritual truth as exemplified in one vigorous churchman's career; with its occasionally intensive concern about elements of the Indian culture and its appreciation of the stream of political and military change and influence in California, the record of Serra's career gives the reader considerable awareness of the total picture of early California life. Father Geiger's annotated translation, a product of Franciscan activity related to the beatification process of Father Serra, widens the general lay reader's understanding of the career of California's earliest favorite son. A total of 1,695 notes, often lengthy, sometimes repetitious and speculative, and always informative, help reader appreciation of obscure place and personal names as well as technical religious vocabulary. End paper maps, a bibliographical foreword, well-chosen illustrations, a select bibliography, and a serviceable index constitute additional contributions of the translator-editor. Even as it sets a seal of sound scholarship upon an eighteenth-century biography, Father Geiger's labor should prove harbinger to a reliable, fuller, modern biography of Serra.

C. HARVEY GARDINER, *Southern Illinois University*

UNITARIANISM ON THE PACIFIC COAST: THE FIRST SIXTY YEARS. By *Arnold Crompton*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1957. Pp. 182. $4.50.) The sixty years covered by this book run from 1850 to 1910. In this period, Unitarianism on the Pacific Coast was a movement comparatively limited in influence and spread. It could boast, nevertheless, of a few outstanding leaders—Thomas Starr King, Horatio Stebbins, Thomas Lamb Eliot. Dr. Crompton's book tells of a small number of churches that became well rooted at an early date and of a much larger number that were started, only to disappear, so that the work of planting had to be done twice or three times over. The writing of denominational history, when it involves parallel accounts of a number of local churches, presents a very difficult problem of organization if chronological relationships are to be kept clear. This book is not entirely successful in overcoming this problem. The author frankly acknowledges that his is "a pilot project," intended to open the way for future research. The lack of documentation unfortunately will restrict its usefulness for this purpose. But until the time comes when, as the author himself hopes, this book will be replaced by one reflecting the research of many scholars, it presents much material available nowhere else.

CONRAD WRIGHT, *Harvard Divinity School*

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Latin American History

Stanley J. Stein[1]

ÉTUDES ANTILLAISES (XVIII[e] SIÈCLE). By *Gabriel Debien*. [Cahiers des Annales, Number 11.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1956. Pp. 186.) The author of this impressive contribution to the literature of socio-economic developments in the Caribbean, a Nasser refugee who was obliged to flee Egypt leaving his research materials and uncompleted manuscripts behind, is a prolific French scholar who, for a quarter of a century, has divided his time between professional duties in Cairo, tracking down Santo Domingan papers in French public and family archives, and producing a steady stream of articles and books on the jewel of France's first colonial empire in its heyday. The present volume embraces two studies, characteristically based upon hitherto unknown sources. The first deals with the laying out of pioneer coffee plantations on the virgin slopes of the Matheux district in west central Santo Domingo commencing in 1743. More particularly, it covers the creation of a substantial property by one Maulévrier, a veteran of the Seven Years' War, whose marriage to a Creole brought a modest domain as dowry and launched him upon a reasonably successful career as a planter concentrating on the new miracle crop, coffee. The narrative ends with the outbreak of civil disorders in 1799, which completely destroyed the old order, thirteen years after the Maulévriers had withdrawn to France. While accounts covering the operation of West Indian estates already in full production or in decline are fairly common, the present one is among the few dealing with plantation beginnings when properties were literally carved out of the jungle and innumerable difficult problems such as land grants, clear title, staffing, soil breaking, transportation, supplies, marketing, debts, and lawsuits were first encountered. Patently, no real understanding of tropical American economy can be had without thorough study of such matters, and this particular work derives its significance from that fact. The second study, dealing with early repercussions of the Revolution on the Bréda

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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properties in the Cape district, is no less admirably done but, being a retelling of a rather familiar story, lacks the freshness of the other.

LOWELL RAGATZ, *Ohio State University*

HISTORIA DEL TRIBUNAL DE LA INQUISICIÓN DE LIMA (1569–1820). Volumes I and II. By *José Toribio Medina.* Prologue by *Marcel Bataillon.* (Santiago, Chile: Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico J. T. Medina. 1956. Pp. xv, 333; 530.) The Chilean Congress in June, 1952, created the Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina and provided an endowment from an annual appropriation of five million pesos for ten years. The Fondo was created to publish not only the works of Chile's great bibliographer-historian but also the results of other research directly related to Medina's many interests. Medina first published this *Historia* in 1887 and followed it three years later with the *Historia de la Inquisición en Chile,* which was reprinted by the Medina Foundation in 1953. His method was a cross between narrative history and documentary compilation. His extensive quotations from the documents impart a primary character to a secondary work, but they interpose difficulties for one who seeks a concise yet comprehensive history of the Inquisition in Peru. Reviewing the history of the Inquisition from its first auto-da-fé in 1573 to its final abolition in 1820, Medina found little to praise and much to condemn. A notable failure in its religious objectives, the Inquisition contributed significantly to the degradation of colonial society. Excepting Indians alone, no one was free from the Inquisition's reach. Regular and secular clergy, lawyers, merchants, royal officials, servants—no group was immune. Bigamy, blasphemy, witchcraft, heresy, concubinage, adultery, and other sins came under scrutiny by the Holy Office which meted out severe punishments. The Tribunal could be lenient on occasions but almost never did it relax efforts to guard the empire from infiltration by foreigners and heretics. Marcel Bataillon has an interesting, informative prologue to introduce this second edition. To the useful index of names in each volume, a topical index should have been added. The data presented, while not summarized for the impatient reader, are indispensable for understanding Peruvian colonial society.

HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN, *Miami University*

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* * * * Historical News * * * *

American Historical Association

The Congress of the United States on June 24 passed a bill amending the charter of the Association. The amendments provided for the elimination of the property limitation in the original charter of 1889 and for the exemption of the property at 400 A Street, Southeast, from District of Columbia taxes. Senator Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts and Representative George McGovern (Ph.D., Northwestern, 1953) of South Dakota introduced the amendments for the Association and merit the warm thanks of its members.

The Bureau of the International Committee of Historical Sciences has accepted the invitation of the American Historical Association to meet in the United States in 1958. The Association has received a grant from the Ford Foundation to provide the necessary expenses.

The Carnegie Corporation has made a grant of limited size to the American Historical Association to provide expenses of official delegates to international historical meetings during the next three years.

Every three years the American Historical Association publishes the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Colleges and Universities in the United States*. This is a service to young scholars and their advisers, designed to prevent duplication. Students or their advisers list their topics with the Association, and a running file is kept at the AHA office. The Association notifies interested individuals when duplication appears.

The 1955 *List of Doctoral Dissertations* is now out of print. A new *List* will be published in the fall of 1958 and will be available from the AHA office at about $1.50 per copy.

The 1957 meeting of the American Historical Association will be held at The Statler, New York City, December 28–30. The official program will be mailed to all members about November 15, 1957.

International Historical Activities

The International Committee of the Historical Sciences held meetings of its Assembly in Lausanne, Switzerland, June 19, and of its Bureau (Executive Committee) June 18, 20, and 21. In general, the Bureau makes policy recommendations to the Assembly, which is a legislative body with final power to accept or

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reject such proposals. Present from the United States were Messrs. Boyd C. Shafer and Donald C. McKay.

The Assembly accepted Bureau proposals that Greece, Bulgaria, Uruguay, and the International Federation of Renaissance Societies and Institutes (the Renaissance Society of America is a member) be accepted as new members of the International Committee; that Professor Nils Ahnlund, University of Stockholm, who died in January, be succeeded as vice-president of the Bureau by Professor Terwald Höjer of the University of Uppsala; and that Madame Anna Pankratova, of the Academy of Sciences in Soviet Russia, who died in April, be succeeded as *assesseur* in the Bureau by Professor A. A. Gouber, vice-president of the Soviet National Historical Committee and a specialist in the history of India. The Assembly voted to create an additional *assesseur,* a move reflecting the substantial increase in membership of the International Committee during the past decade. The new place will be filled in the Assembly elections of 1960, during the international Congress at Stockholm.

The report of the secretary-general, Professor Michel François, emphasized the great loss which the Bureau had suffered in the deaths of Professor Ahnlund and Madame Pankratova. M. François indicated that various proposals for the modification of the Constitution would be presented to the Assembly in 1960. He pointed out that this year's meetings had been shifted from Moscow to Lausanne with the full agreement of the Soviet National Committee and because of the anticipated impossibility of finding the necessary quorum in Moscow. He noted that the Commission on Bibliography was preparing a volume supplementary to the earlier *Bibliographie des Travaux . . . parus en volumes de Mélanges,* that the final *Atti del Congresso* were being sent to historians registered for the Rome Congress of 1955, and that it was hoped that Volume III of the *Répertoire des Représentants diplomatiques de tous les pays de 1648 à 1815* (being prepared by the Commission d'Histoire diplomatique) would not be long delayed in appearing.

In accordance with a previous decision to eliminate those commissions which had persistently failed to show signs of productive activity, the Assembly suppressed the Commission d'Histoire de la Banque et des Changes and the Commission d'Iconographie, with the understanding, however, that the new Federation of Renaissance Societies and Institutes would be asked to look into the possibility of further exploiting the *fichier* of the Commission d'Iconographie in Amsterdam, on which much work has been done. It also directed Professor Paul Harsin of Belgium to present a plan for the reorganization of the Commission de Démographie historique.

The secretary-general reported on the work of various other commissions (several of them presently in a very active state) and on the relations of the International Committee with UNESCO (from which it receives substantial subventions for its publications, for the work of certain of its commissions, and for its quinquennial congresses). He also described plans for the Stockholm Congress of 1960. M. François emphasized the unusual vitality of the International Com-

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mittee, pointing out that, whereas the Bureau received 95 proposed themes for Reports for the Rome Congress, it had received no fewer than 220 proposals for the Stockholm meeting.

In addition to the items acted upon by the Assembly, the Bureau addressed itself to various other problems. It heard with great interest and accepted the invitation of the American Historical Association to hold the Bureau's annual meeting in the United States in 1958. This invitation was made possible by a generous grant from the Ford Foundation, which will make possible a visit of about two weeks, probably in October, 1958. The purpose of the invitation, *inter alia,* is to give our European colleagues some familiarity with the present status of historical studies in the United States, with the character of higher education, and, to some extent, with the nature of the American socio-political scene. A planned visit to various universities in the area from Boston to Washington will be followed by individual travel by members of the Bureau.

The Bureau faced the exceedingly difficult task of selecting thirty from among the many proposals for Reports at the Stockholm Congress. There will be six for each of the five concurrent sections; three each were allotted to the larger countries, including the United States. The Reports are, as before, to be printed and circulated to members of the Congress well in advance of the meeting, and should be sent to the Swedish committee in final form not later than March 1, 1959.

As in previous congresses, a second central element will be the shorter, twenty-minute papers, which will be read and discussed, much as they are in meetings of the American Historical Association. These will be severely limited to 120 in number, which means that the United States might anticipate a total of something like twelve to fifteen. They should be in every case on subjects of unusual importance and broad interest. Each paper is to be related, at least in a general way, to one of the Reports, a full list of which will appear in the next number of the *Review*. Suggested subjects for papers, with indication of the intended content, should be sent to Donald C. McKay, 100 Woodside Avenue, Amherst, Massachusetts, not later than April 15, 1958. It is, of course, requisite that those offering papers agree to be present at Stockholm. Total American representation at Paris in 1950 was more than 60, at Rome in 1955, 102. It is hoped that American scholars will make summer plans for Europe in 1960 and that our representation at Stockholm will be even larger.

DONALD C. MCKAY

The International Educational Exchange Service of the Department of State is encouraging professional correspondence between American scholars and those foreign students, research scholars, and lecturers they have known. Correspondence between members of the American Historical Association and foreign scholars and students with whom they worked and studied while on "exchange" would be particularly desirable.

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Libraries and Archives

The Library of Congress has received early records of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, Inc., as a gift from the president, Mr. Robert A. Pinkerton. The records are composed essentially of private and business papers of Allan Pinkerton (1819–1884), who founded the agency in 1850. The earliest volume, a combination letter book and report book of 900 pages, is concerned with the secret service of the Army of the Potomac and of the Provost Marshal's Department from August 21 to November 26, 1861. Two volumes contain Mr. Pinkerton's private letters, 1872–83. The remainder of the material is composed of three volumes of letters of George H. Bangs, head of the agency's New York office, most of which are addressed to Mr. Pinkerton, 1869–73, and a daily journal of the New York office, October, 1865–March, 1866. There are restrictions on the use of this material.

Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid has presented to the Library a valuable addition to her earlier gift of the papers of Whitelaw Reid, diplomat and successor to Horace Greeley as editor of the New York *Tribune*. The approximately 3,000 pieces date from 1830 to 1912; the earliest material is composed of some 500 letters addressed to Mr. Greeley by Simon Cameron, Salmon P. Chase, Schuyler Colfax, John G. Nicolay, and others. Mr. Reid's own personal and editorial correspondence, which is concentrated around the turn of the century, includes long series of letters from James G. Blaine, John Hay, Andrew Carnegie, Henry Adams and other members of the Adams family, and Horace Greeley.

Approximately 8,000 pieces have been added to the papers of Thomas J. Walsh (1859–1933), Senator from Montana, by his daughter, Mrs. Genevieve Walsh Gudger. The new material, which is dated from 1921 to 1933, is largely concerned with the World Court at The Hague. Papers of John E. Erickson (1863–1946), for the two years he served in the United States Senate as appointed successor to Senator Walsh, have been given to the Library by Mrs. Erickson. The 9,000 items are chiefly related to the Flathead River project, farm legislation, and federal farm loans in Montana.

The library founded by Herbert Hoover and situated at Stanford University was recently renamed The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. Replacing the Hoover Institute and Library on War, Revolution, and Peace, the new name emphasizes the character of the work now being done by the Institution's staff and the scholars drawn to it from all over the world.

Papers of Gaspar de Portola, first governor of California, have been given to the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, by the Friends of the Bancroft Library. The new documents relate to Portola's service as governor (particularly the councils with his officers and friars held between October, 1769, and February, 1770) and to his career as governor of the town of Puebla, Mexico.

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Almost all the papers, the first signed originals by Portola to be received into the Bancroft collection, have been unknown and unpublished until recently.

Microfilms of the archives of one of the old water boards of Holland, the Hoogheemraadschap van Rijnland, Leiden, have been presented to the University of California Library, Berkeley, by the Water Board, through its secretary, S. J. Fockema Andreae. The records, dating back to the sixteenth century, are of the ancient water laws and water administration of the Hoogheemraadschap and cover the period of the development of the Dutch embanking and drainage authorities.

The Roper Public Opinion Research Center was established on July 1, 1957, at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts. The Center contains the raw materials of more than 600,000 interviews, dating from 1938, conducted by the Roper organization, and the collection is growing at the rate of about twelve studies each year. Upon request, accredited individuals may obtain statistical summaries of Roper data; in cases of minor research projects, the tabulations are made at the Center but when warranted, duplicate sets of requested materials may be loaned for a stipulated period of time.

The Southwest Collection of the Texas Technological College in Lubbock has recently received the home office records of the Matador Land and Cattle Company, Ltd., from Dundee, Scotland. Added to the archival material from the American offices of the company, this acquisition brings to approximately 400,000 the number of manuscript pieces bearing on the career of the Scottish syndicate held in the collection.

The Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens wishes to encourage scholars to use its rich resources for the study of the history, literature, and civilization of medieval and modern Greece. The collection is especially full for the Byzantine, Frankish, and Turkish periods, for the Greek War of Independence, and for works of travel in the Levant; it also provides reference material for research on the Near East in modern times. The Library offers facilities for scholars who have been awarded traveling fellowships as well as opportunities for association with Greek scholars. The librarian, Dr. Peter Topping, will furnish bibliographical information concerning the rare items in the collection.

Other Associations and Periodicals

The Washington office of the Social Science Research Council was permanently closed at the end of July and the staff was transferred to the main office at 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York. All inquiries concerning SSRC fellowships and grants should be directed to the above address.

Principal offices of the American Council of Learned Societies have been transferred from Washington, D. C., to the Carnegie Endowment International Center,

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345 East 46th Street, New York, New York. New president of the ACLS is Frederick Burkhardt, formerly president of Bennington College for ten years; vice-president is Robert Hoopes, recently director of the Stanford Study of Undergraduate Education. The office at 2101 R Street, N.W., Washington 8, D. C., continues.

The Conference on British Studies held its eleventh regular meeting on April 27, 1957, at the New York University Law School, New York City. C. H. Philips, professor of Indian history at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, spoke on "The New History of India," contrasting the preconceptions of nineteenth-century historians with the recent scholarship on India. Professors Taraknath Das, Columbia University, and Arthur Silver, Temple University, commented on the special problems for the student in Indian history. Two projects of the Publications Committee were announced: a series of bibliographical essays dealing with limited periods in British history, stressing new viewpoints in the books and articles that have appeared since 1940, and a catalogue of the manuscript materials relating to British history in the United States.

The thirty-ninth annual scholarly conference of the American Council of Learned Societies, to be held at Indiana University, January 23–24, 1958, will be devoted to the topic "The Present-Day Vitality of the Classical Tradition." The program committee, under the chairmanship of Professor Paul L. MacKendrick of the University of Wisconsin, decided to concentrate upon the sense of tragedy developed by the Greeks as perhaps the best, although by no means the only, aspect of the classical tradition whereby its contemporary "livingness" could be made compellingly clear. The meetings will take the form of demonstration with appropriate commentary and interpretation.

The fourth annual conference on French history of the Society for French Historical Studies will be held in Durham and Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on January 31–February 1, 1958. Duke University and the University of North Carolina are the host institutions. Information may be obtained from the secretary-treasurer, David H. Pinkney, 318 Jesse Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association will hold its 1958 meeting in Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 24–26. Chairman of the program committee is Gilbert C. Fite, University of Oklahoma.

The Panamerican Committee on the History of Ideas in America has announced the inauguration of *Revista de Historia de Ideas*. Max Savelle, University of Washington, is chairman of the United States subcommittee for the new journal.

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The first number of *The American Journal of Legal History,* published by Temple University, has been issued. The editor is Erwin C. Surrency of Temple University.

The first issue of a new international quarterly, *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* published by Mouton, The Hague, with initial support from the Ford Foundation and from several American universities, will appear in October, 1958. The journal, to serve as a clearing house for substantive work on problems common to any two or more of the numerous branches of study dealing with man's life in society, will treat any subject that bears on the explanation of stability or change within a social structure, including ways of thought or expression, or on forms of cultural interchange. A board of consulting editors has been drawn from several American universities, representing comparative politics, comparative literature, economics, sociology, anthropology, and various fields of history. American history is represented by Thomas Cochran, University of Pennsylvania. The editor is Sylvia L. Thrupp, Chicago University. Contributions from fresh research in which the problems at issue are clearly formulated are invited; address correspondence to the editor, Box 222, Faculty Exchange, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Awards, Grants, Prizes

The American Council of Learned Societies has announced three programs to aid scholars in the humanities during the academic year 1958–59. A $100,000 fellowship program will make available grants up to $7,000 for younger scholars (with the doctorate or equivalent) to complete research projects in the humanities or to extend their competencies by intensive study. Applications must be received before October 15, 1957. A $100,000 grant-in-aid program will provide funds, not to exceed $3,000 per grant, for significant humanistic research in progress. Completed applications should be received by January 15 and March 15, 1958. A Special Awards Program will make possible the completion of distinguished works in the humanities, by grants of $10,000 each to not more than ten mature scholars of unquestioned ability. Applications are sought from academic institutions, professional societies, and other sources; applications from individuals will not be solicited. Application forms for all three programs may be requested from the ACLS Grants Program, 2101 R Street, N.W., Washington 8, D. C.

The Social Science Research Council will again offer predoctoral and postdoctoral research training fellowships, faculty research fellowships, and grants-in-aid of research to qualified applicants in all fields of social science. Two new programs—senior research awards in American governmental affairs (federal, state, or local) and grants for research on the Near and Middle East—will be initiated. A circular describing all such programs for the coming year is now available,

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along with application forms, on request from the SSRC, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The American Association of University Women will offer more than forty fellowships for women in 1958–59. The sums vary from $2,000 to $4,000; both national and international fellowships are unrestricted as to field and place of study, except that international fellowships must be used in a country other than the candidate's own. Candidates must have completed the residence requirements for the doctorate before the fellowship year begins on July 1, 1958; awards are also offered for postdoctoral research. Applications must be completed not later than December 15, 1957. Forms are available from Mary H. Smith, Associate, AAUW Fellowship Program, 1634 Eye Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

The American Council of Learned Societies now offers grants for travel to international conferences of scholars. Present policy decisions for this new program are: (1) full expenses of traveling American scholars will be paid only to individuals representing the ACLS itself at broadly humanistic gatherings; application by individuals for travel to such meetings will not be solicited, (2) applications will be received from one or at most two individuals who are designated as representatives of their constituent societies to congresses primarily of interest to a single constituent society; support will be limited to the amount necessary for tourist class air travel or cabin class steamer, (3) only individuals who are to read papers, or who are taking official part in the conferences, will be supported, and (4) all applications must be submitted through the appropriate constituent society. No funds can be granted under this program for persons going abroad for research or study. Appropriations will not be made for financing groups of participants. Write for further information to ACLS, 345 East 46th Street, New York, New York.

The Committee on the Role of Education in American History, chairman of which is Paul H. Buck of the Widener Library, Harvard University, has funds available to stimulate investigation and interpretation of the role of educational forces in shaping American life. The Committee contemplates as first steps such forms of assistance as fellowships and research grants to both young and seasoned scholars, publication subsidies, and support of conferences of summer seminars for scholars interested in the historical role of education. Copies of the Committee's statement, *The Role of Education in American History,* are available from the offices of The Fund for the Advancement of Education, 655 Madison Avenue, New York 21, New York.

The Rockefeller Foundation has announced the following grants in the second quarter of 1957, in history and related fields: Enver Karal, University of Ankara, Turkey, and Frederick P. Latimer, Jr., Princeton, history of the Turkish Revolution; Thomas C. Smith, Stanford University, intensive historical study of an

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agricultural village in Japan; Michael Karpovich, Harvard, research and writing on Russian history; Allan D. Bloom, University of Chicago, historical study of problem of freedom of thought and expression in political theory; J. A. B. van Buitenen, University of Chicago, Indian cultural history; Zeki Velide Togan, professor of Turkish history, University of Istanbul, Turkey, appointed research associate in the Near and Middle East Institute of Columbia University; Thornton Anderson, University of Maryland, analysis of the antifederalists of 1787–89 in comparison with the federalists; Academy of American Franciscan History, Washington, D. C., for a conference on the history of religion in the Americas, to be held in cooperation with the Commission on History, Pan American Institute of Geography and History, Mexico City; Joel Colton, Duke University, political thought of Leon Blum; Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, for a seminar on "The Historiography of Origins of the Intervention in Russia in 1918"; Hugo Hantsch and Fritz Fellner, University of Vienna, to visit centers of historical study in the United States and Europe in connection with a history of the later phases of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; Institute of Historical Research, University of London, studies related to parliamentary history, under the direction of Sir Lewis Namier; Keith M. Greenwood, Robert College, Istanbul, studies of the history of the college; University of Calcutta, research in economic history, in the department of history; J. P. Mayer, National Institute of Economic and Social Research, London, for support of the editing and publication of the books and papers of Alexis de Tocqueville; and American Historical Association, to invite historians of South Asia to teach and guide research in universities in the United States (see *AHR,* July, 1957, page 1043).

The Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, has announced the following Fulbright lecturing and advanced research awards in history for the 1957–58 academic year: *Lecturing* —J. Cutler Andrews, Chatham College, University of Helsinki; Reginald F. Arragon, Reed College, Universities of Lille and Rennes; Walter E. Bezanson, Rutgers University, University of Liège; Henry J. Browne, Catholic University, University of Naples; Henry S. Commager, Amherst College, University of Aix-Marseilles; Wallace E. Davies, University of Pennsylvania, University of Manchester; Elisha P. Douglass, University of North Carolina, University of Göttingen; William C. Eaton, University of Kentucky, University of Innsbruck; Kent Forster, Pennsylvania State University, University of Helsinki; Walter Johnson, University of Chicago, Oxford; Paul I. Miller, Hiram College, University of Ceylon; Katharine F. Nutt, Kansas State College (Fort Hays), Isabella Thoburn College (India); Donnell M. Owings, University of Oklahoma, Auckland University College (New Zealand); Cornelius Penner, Baldwin-Wallace College, Wilhelmshaven (Germany); Martin H. Schaefer, Valparaiso University, University of Cologne; William L. Spalding, Vassar College, Osaka University (Japan); William B. Willcox, University of Michigan, Oxford; Edward E.

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Younger, University of Virginia, Allahabad University (India). *Research*—Oswald P. Backus, University of Kansas, University of Helsinki; Harold C. Deutsch, University of Minnesota, University of Munich; Aubrey C. Land, University of Nebraska, University of London; Robert S. Lopez, Yale University, University of Rome; Charles Leonard Lundin, Indiana University, University of Helsinki; T. Francis Mayer-Oakes, Wayne State University, Tokyo University; Ernst M. Posner, American University, University of Rome; Lloyd R. Sorenson, University of Oregon, Free University, Berlin; Edward C. Thaden, Pennsylvania State University, University of Helsinki; Klemens von Klemperer, Smith College, University of Vienna; Joseph Wall, Grinnell College, University of Edinburgh.

The Southern Fellowships Fund, an agency of the Council of Southern Universities, has announced the following recipients of awards and grants-in-aid in history for 1957–58 (name of present employing institution is shown first, then the university selected for advanced work, unless it is the same): Fellowship awards—James D. Barber, Stetson University, Yale; James R. Connor, Washington and Lee University, University of Wisconsin; Leonard P. Curry, University of Kentucky; John L. Ferguson, Conway Baptist College, Tulane; Thomas F. Harwood, University of Texas; Paul E. Isaac, David Lipscomb College, University of Texas; Clifton H. Johnson, LeMoyne College, University of North Carolina; Billy B. Lightfoot, University of Texas; Lawrence F. Silverman, University of Tennessee, Harvard; Frank L. Turner, Jr., University of North Carolina; Arda S. Walker, Maryville College, University of North Carolina; Robert B. Walz, East Texas State Teachers College, University of Texas; Evelyn V. Wiley, Birmingham-Southern College, University of Pennsylvania; and Burleigh T. Wilkins, Shorter College, Cambridge University.

College teaching career fellowships—Henry M. Bair, Jr., Furman University, University of North Carolina; Stanley W. Campbell, University of Mississippi, Emory University; Jack M. Culpepper, III, University of Florida, Columbia; William R. Erwin, Jr., Birmingham-Southern College, Duke University; Kay Farquhar, University of Texas; John H. Harvey, College of William and Mary, University of North Carolina; James E. Hendricks, Jr., Furman University, University of Virginia; Philip F. Kukura, Davidson College, Duke University; Sylvia Maly, University of Texas, University of North Carolina; Roland T. Martin, Jr., Birmingham-Southern College, University of Texas; Thomas S. Morgan, Jr., Davidson College, Duke University; Ralph V. Turner, University of Arkansas, university not yet agreed upon; and Peter B. Young, Louisiana State University, University of North Carolina.

Grants-in-aid for advanced study on research during the summer of 1957—Martin L. Abbott, Oglethorpe University, Bowdoin College; John G. Barrett, Virginia Military Institute, University of North Carolina; Mrs. Mildred C. Beckwith, Winthrop College, British Museum; John H. Beeler, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, British Museum; Sin-ming Chiu, Centenary

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College, University of Southern California; Robert G. Crawford, East Tennessee State College, University of Wisconsin; Marvin R. Farley, Western Carolina College, University of North Carolina; Marshall W. Fishwick, Washington and Lee University, Washington, D. C. area; Edward H. Gibson, III, Brenau College, University of London; Abraham A. Kreusler, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Library of Congress; Dun Jen Li, Wiley College, Harvard; Henry G. McWhiney, Millsaps College, Library of Congress; Richard Megargee, The Citadel, Library of Congress; W. Hugh Moomaw, Randolph-Macon College, Library of Congress; Joseph H. Parks, Birmingham-Southern College, University of the South; Walter B. Posey, Agnes Scott College, Southern libraries; James A. Rawley, Sweet Briar College, University of Minnesota; Lothar L. Tresp, Birmingham-Southern College, University of Georgia; Philip A. Walker, Mississippi Southern College, Library of Congress; Howard Zinn, Spelman College, Columbia University.

Announcements of grants available for 1958–59 and the summer of 1958 are available from the executive director of the Southern Fellowships Fund, Robert M. Lester, 119 North Columbia Street, P. O. Box 427, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

The Ford Foundation has announced 154 recipients of fellowships for training in foreign area studies and international relations, among which are the following in history or related fields: Peter James Duignan, Stanford University, African studies; Donald G. Gillin, Stanford University, modern Chinese history; Robert A. Huttenback, University of California at Los Angeles, Sind in the nineteenth century; Thomas Naff, University of California at Berkeley, Near Eastern history; James B. Crowley, University of Michigan, modern Japanese history; Daniel R. Brower, Carleton College, Russian area studies; E. Joan Smythe, Radcliffe College, Chinese history; Russell H. Bastert, Williams College, international trade; Thomas J. Hegarty, Harvard, Russian regional studies; Charles H. Holbrow, Columbia University, Russian area studies; Warren Lerner, Columbia, political philosophy of Karl Radek; Stephen Stamatopulos, Harvard, American-Russian diplomatic relations; Albert E. Dien, University of California at Berkeley, Chinese state policy during the T'ang dynasty; Robert L. Irick, Harvard, East Asian regional studies; Jerome B. Grieder, Harvard, Far Eastern history; Ernest P. Young, Harvard, Far Eastern history; William L. Blackwell, Princeton, Russian area studies; Richard C. Howard, Columbia, modern Chinese history; Deena R. Schorr, Radcliffe, modern Turkish history; Arlene B. Aronson, Smith, Russian regional studies; Seymour Becker, Harvard, Russian regional studies; Judy Feldman, Radcliffe, Chinese legal modernization; Alan P. Gartner, Harvard, Russian regional studies; John W. Israel, Harvard, East Asian regional studies; Harold L. Kahn, Harvard, Far Eastern history; Irene Lefel, Barnard, Middle Eastern area studies; Michael M. Luther, Columbia, Communism in the Soviet Ukraine; Elinor A. Murray, Columbia, East European area studies; Laurence Salomon,

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Boston University, immigration to the Union of South Africa; Stanley A. Wolpert, University of Pennsylvania, philosophies of Tilak and Gokhale; Eugene E. Pfaff, Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, international relations; Jackson H. Bailey, Harvard, modern Japanese history; Alfred E. Senn, Columbia, Lithuanian foreign relations, 1918–1920; John R. W. Smail, Cornell, Southeast Asian regional studies; Lawrence F. Silverman, University of Tennessee, study of Nikolai Bukharin; Stanford J. Shaw, Princeton, Egyptian government in the Ottoman Empire; Margaret M. Donovan, University of Wisconsin, Russian area studies; Jean M. Touchette, University College of Addis Ababa, Middle Eastern regional studies.

The Ford Foundation has announced that applications for fellowships (graduate training and postdoctoral) for the academic year 1958–59, will be received until November 1, 1957. Application forms and information may be obtained from The Secretary, The Ford Foundation, Attention Foreign Area and International Relations Training Fellowships, 477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York.

The Lilly Endowment has granted $60,000 to the Institute of Early American History and Culture to promote the expansion of its book publication program for the next three years.

The Solon J. Buck Award for 1956 of the Minnesota Historical Society has been presented to Walter N. Trenerry, a St. Paul lawyer, for his article "The Minnesota Rebellion Act of 1862: A Legal Dilemma of the Civil War," published in the September, 1956, issue of *Minnesota History*. The award, with a cash prize of $50, is given each year to the author of the best article appearing in the Society's quarterly.

The Dexter Chemical Corporation Award in the History of Chemistry for 1957 has been awarded to Williams Haynes, author of the six-volume work entitled *American Chemical Industry*.

The first annual Francis Parkman Award of $500 for literary distinction in the writing of history has been presented to George Frost Kennan for his book *Russia Leaves the War*. Two citations of honorable mention were also presented by the Society of American Historians to Alpheus Thomas Mason for his *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* and to David L. Cohn for *The Life and Times of King Cotton*.

The second annual Francis Parkman Price of $500 will be awarded for a book published within the calendar year 1957. Books submitted may deal with any aspect of the colonial or national history of what is now the United States. Literary, religious, economic, political, scientific and technological, legal and constitutional history, the history of foreign relations, and biography fall within the field. The prize is awarded to stimulate the writing of history as literature, thus emphasizing literary distinction in historical writing. For further information ad-

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dress Dr. Rudolf A. Clemen, Executive Vice-President, The Society of American Historians, Inc., Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, has established a new Manuscript Award, to be given annually for the best unpublished work in early American history. The amount of the award will be $500 and assurance of publication. To be eligible for the 1958 award, manuscripts must be sent before December 31, 1957, to the Editor of Publications, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia. This prize replaces the Institute's annual Book Prize, which this year went to I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard University for his volume on *Franklin and Newton: An Inquiry into Speculative Newtonian Experimental Science and Franklin's Work in Electricity as an Example Thereof* (American Philosophical Society, 1956).

The *New England Quarterly* and Houghton Mifflin Company have established the New England Quarterly Literary Fellowship Award in American Studies. The award of $2,400 will be given annually for work in progress and is designed to encourage the writing of books of general interest in the fields of American history, literature, and the social sciences. Further information and application blanks may be obtained from The Editor, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2 Park Street, Boston 7, Massachusetts.

The American Division of the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento offers a prize of $200 for the best unpublished study in the history of modern Italy, of article or essay length. The award, made possible by a gift from the Cultural Office of the Italian Embassy in the United States, is offered for a first or second study in the field, in order to encourage fresh interest in Italian history. For further information write to Professor Howard R. Marraro, Casa Italiana, Columbia University, New York 27, New York. Closing date is June 1, 1958.

Siena, Italy, has established a 1,000,000 lire prize for a historical monograph on "The War of Siena, 1552–1559." The competition is open to scholars of any nationality. Manuscripts, in five typed copies, must be submitted to the Secretary's Office, Town Hall of Siena, no later than December 31, 1958. Publication will be arranged by the city of Siena; the prize will be awarded during the "Historical Studies Days," which will take place in the spring of 1959.

Other Historical Activities

The University of Chicago and the University of Virginia are sponsoring the publication of a new and complete edition of the papers of James Madison. The editors will appreciate information about the location of letters by or to James Madison or his wife, especially letters in private possession or among uncalendared manuscripts in the collections of public or private institutions. Address The Papers of James Madison, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

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The Italian government has appointed two national commissions for the collection, editing, and publication of definitive editions of the correspondence of Camillo Benso di Cavour and Giuseppe Garibaldi. Information concerning the existence of unpublished letters from or to Cavour or Garibaldi in any American public or private library or archives is requested. The commissions wish to know whether it is possible to obtain photostatic copies of documents and the relative costs. Proper acknowledgment of all assistance will be made in the published collections. Any information should be sent to Dr. Howard R. Marraro, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, American Division of the Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

At a meeting of interested organizations held at the United States Department of Interior on April 17, 1957, the decision was made to reactivate the nationwide study of historic sites and buildings that the National Park Service conducted from 1935 until the survey was interrupted by World War II. Continuation of the survey will depend upon Congressional appropriations and upon the interest of historians and others as expressed to appropriate authorities.

Personal

Appointments and Staff Changes[1]

University of Alabama: Thomas B. Alexander, of Georgia State Teachers College, appointed visiting associate professor for 1957–58; George R. Abernathy, Jr., awarded a grant-in-aid by the Huntington Library and Art Gallery. *Arizona State College:* Robert W. Coonrod named chairman of the department of history and political science and promoted to associate professor; Karl H. Dannenfeldt named head of the division of social and behavioral sciences; Guilford A. Dudley promoted to assistant professor of history and Thomas E. Herrick to assistant professor of social studies; John R. Martinez, of Brigham Young University, appointed assistant professor of history. *Atlantic Christian College* (Wilson, North Carolina): Daniel M. McFarland, of Columbia College, Columbia, South Carolina, named head of the department. *Brooklyn College:* Irwin Nack appointed instructor. *University of Buffalo:* Leo Albert Loubère, of the University of Tennessee, appointed assistant professor. *Butler University:* Allan J. McCurry promoted to associate professor and Robert F. Erickson to assistant professor. *University of Chicago:* Richard J. Storr appointed associate professor; Eric W. Cochrane appointed instructor; Walter Johnson named Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford in 1957–58; Louis Gottschalk on leave in 1957–58 to the Institute of Behavioral Sciences.

Clark University: Gerald N. Grob appointed instructor; Marc Raeff on leave of absence for 1957–58 on a Guggenheim fellowship to do research on the

[1] The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

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Russian nobility. *Colorado State University:* William Greenleaf appointed assistant professor. *Concord College* (Athens, West Virginia): Fred S. Rogers named chairman of the department of social sciences, succeeding Milton S. Cushman, who has retired and who has been appointed acting associate professor at King College, Bristol, Tennessee. *Dartmouth:* David Roberts, of the University of Washington, appointed instructor. *Drexel Institute:* Robert W. Rhoads promoted to professor and named chairman of the department; Raymond Mack appointed instructor. *Duke University:* John Alden named chairman of the department, succeeding E. Malcolm Carroll. *Finch College* (New York, New York): Harold Seymour, of the University of Buffalo, appointed professor. *Florida State University:* Charles W. Arnade, Richard A. Bartlett, and Coburn V. Graves appointed assistant professors; William I. Hair appointed instructor; Venila Lovina Shores has retired after thirty-five years at the university. *Grinnell College:* Joseph Wall promoted to professor and on leave of absence for 1957–58 in Scotland to further his study of Andrew Carnegie, under a Fulbright fellowship; Samuel H. Baron promoted to associate professor and named chairman of the department; Richard S. Westfall, of the University of Iowa, appointed assistant professor. *Grove City College* (Grove City, Pennsylvania): Larry Gara, of Eureka College, appointed professor.

Hampden-Sydney College (Hampden-Sydney, Virginia): Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker appointed Whitney Visiting Professor. *Hiram College:* Paul Sharp, of the University of Wisconsin, appointed president. *Hope College* (Holland, Michigan): Paul G. Fried promoted to associate professor. *Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico* (San Germán, Puerto Rico): Frederick E. Kidder, of the University of Florida, appointed lecturer and registrar. *University of Illinois:* Norman A. Graebner appointed professor; Deno J. Geanakoplos, Theodore S. Hamerow, and Robert M. Sutton promoted to associate professors; Oscar H. Dodson appointed assistant professor. *University of Kansas:* William Gilbert promoted to associate professor; Robert W. Johannsen promoted to associate professor and appointed visiting member of history department at University of Wisconsin for the fall semester; Elmo R. Richardson appointed instructor; Robert G. Colodny appointed visiting assistant professor for 1957–58; James E. Seaver named director of the Western Civilization Program; Oswald P. Backus on leave for 1957–58 as Fulbright scholar in Helsinki, Finland. *Kent State University:* Harold Schwartz promoted to assistant professor; Martin J. Havran and Robert Jones appointed instructors. *Lewis and Clark College* (Portland, Oregon): Arthur L. Throckmorton named chairman of the department; Richard C. Dales promoted to assistant professor. *Lock Haven State Teachers College* (Lock Haven, Pennsylvania): Paul Bernstein promoted to professor. *Loyola University:* Franklin A. Walker, of St. Jerome's College, Kitchener, Ontario, appointed assistant professor.

Miami University: Harris G. Warren, of the University of Mississippi, named chairman of the department, succeeding William E. Smith, who will devote full time to his position as dean of the graduate school; Frank W. Iklé appointed

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assistant professor. *University of Michigan:* Caroline Robbins, of Bryn Mawr College, appointed Alice Freeman Palmer Visiting Professor of History for the second semester of 1957–58; Esson M. Gale, retired as director of the International Center, selected as visiting professor of comparative government and Asian studies at Korea University, Seoul, during the 1957–58 academic year; Paul J. Alexander, of Brandeis University, appointed professor; Alexander DeConde, of Duke University, appointed associate professor; Finley A. Hooper, of Michigan State University, appointed visiting assistant professor for the fall semester of 1957–58; John B. Spielman, of the University of Wisconsin, appointed instructor. *University of Missouri:* David H. Pinkney promoted to professor, and James N. Primm and Lewis W. Spitz to associate professors; Gilman Ostrander appointed assistant professor; Stephen Baxter appointed visiting assistant professor for 1957–58; Charles F. Mullett on leave of absence as visiting professor at Columbia University for 1957–58. *Montgomery Junior College* (Takoma Park, Md.): Jack W. Henry, Jr., of Washington College (Chestertown, Md.), appointed instructor. *Municipal University of Omaha:* A. Stanley Trickett appointed professor and named chairman of the department.

University of Nebraska: Stanley R. Ross promoted to associate professor. *New York University:* John W. Wilkes, of Pomona College, appointed assistant professor; Alexander Baltzly, chairman of the department, has retired with the rank of professor emeritus. *North Carolina State College* (Raleigh): Stuart Noblin promoted to professor and appointed college archivist; Philip M. Rice promoted to professor; Abraham Holtzman and Marvin L. Brown, Jr., promoted to associate professors; Burton F. Beers promoted to assistant professor; William J. Block appointed assistant professor; J. Leon Helguera appointed instructor. *Northwestern University:* Richard M. Brace promoted to professor; John T. Meskill and Alfred J. Rieber appointed visiting lecturers for 1957–58; Roger F. Hackett on leave of absence for 1957–58 to be Senior Research Fellow at the East Asian Institute, Columbia University; Leften S. Stavrianos on leave of absence for 1957–58 to work on a project in world history. *University of Oregon:* Earl Pomeroy appointed chairman of the department for three years; William O. Shanahan, of Notre Dame University, appointed acting professor in 1957–58, replacing Val R. Lorwin, who is on leave of absence in Belgium; Paul A. Varg, of Ohio State University, appointed acting associate professor for 1957–58; Edwin R. Bingham promoted to associate professor, and John E. Selby to assistant professor; Stanley A. Pierson, of Wesleyan University, appointed assistant professor, and William M. Bowsky, of Princeton University, appointed instructor; Quirinus Breen on leave for 1957–58 in the Netherlands to prepare a critical edition of Rudolph Agricola's *De Inventione Dialectica.*

University of Pennsylvania: Lynn M. Case named chairman of the department; Wallace E. Davies promoted to associate professor and granted a leave of absence to serve as Fulbright lecturer at the University of Manchester; Richard S. Dunn, of the University of Michigan, appointed assistant professor; Holden Furber on

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leave of absence to continue research in London and The Hague. *Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn:* Helmut Gruber appointed instructor in history and economics. *Pomona College:* Henry Cord Meyer promoted to professor; Elizabeth Bruchholz and William A. Smith appointed instructors. *Purdue University:* Glover G. Hatheway appointed assistant professor. *Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute* (Troy, New York): William H. Pease, assistant professor, to spend year at Case Institute of Technology on an exchange teaching arrangement; Robert W. Shoemaker promoted to assistant professor. *Rice Institute:* Katherine F. Drew promoted to associate professor; Ed Hake Phillips promoted to associate professor and granted a leave of absence for 1957–58 for study under a Social Science Research Council grant; Edmund T. Peckham appointed lecturer. *Rutgers University:* Richard B. Schlatter named chairman of the department, succeeding L. Ethan Ellis; Richard P. McCormick on leave on SSRC grant to study early American political behavior; George F. Frick appointed instructor. *University of South Carolina:* Richard L. Walker appointed professor and named chairman of the department of international studies. *Southern Illinois University* (Carbondale, Illinois): C. Harvey Gardiner, of Washington University, St. Louis, appointed professor. *Temple University:* Robert C. Johnson appointed assistant professor, and Robert H. Schwoebel and Lorna Hahn appointed instructors. *Texas Technological College:* Lawrence L. Graves promoted to associate professor; Lowell L. Blaisdell appointed assistant professor; David M. Vigness on leave in 1957–58 on a Fulbright appointment to teach at the University of Santiago and the Catholic University, Santiago, Chile.

Washington and Jefferson College: Walter S. Sanderlin promoted to professor; John A. Carpenter appointed assistant professor. *Washington University* (St. Louis): J. H. Hexter, of Queens College, appointed professor and named chairman of the department. *University of Washington:* Scott H. Lytle promoted to associate professor; Robert E. Burke, of the University of Hawaii, and Howard Kaminsky, of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, appointed assistant professors; Kenneth McKirdy, of Queen's University, appointed acting assistant professor; Edith Dobie has retired after thirty-one years at the university and will do research in England in 1957–58. *Westminster College* (New Wilmington, Pa.): James A. Duran promoted to assistant professor. *Williams College:* Charles Roy Keller appointed Brown Professor of History; Robert C. L. Scott appointed J. Leland Miller Professor of American History, Literature, and Eloquence; Donald G. Rohr promoted to assistant professor; John G. Sproat, of Michigan State University, appointed lecturer. *University of Wisconsin:* David A. Shannon, of Columbia Teachers College, appointed to staff.

Yale University: George W. Pierson named chairman of the department, succeeding Harry R. Rudin; John Morton Blum, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, appointed professor; M. Claude Fohlen, Maître de conférences à la Faculté des Lettres, Besançon, and visiting professor at the Bologna Center School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University, appointed

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visiting lecturer for 1957–58; E. David Cronon, Richard Herr, Firuz Kazemzadeh, and Robert H. L. Wheeler promoted to assistant professors; Ivo J. Lederer, Robin W. Winks, Lawrence W. Chisolm, Martin B. Duberman, Hector G. Kinloch, and William H. Goetzmann appointed instructors; Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., associate editor of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin, appointed research associate; Charles Garside, Jr., and William E. Scott reappointed instructors, and David H. Horne reappointed editor of the Yale Historical Publications.

RECENT DEATHS

William O. Lynch, formerly professor of history at Indiana University, died on March 29, 1957, at the age of eighty-seven. He received his higher education at Indiana University and the University of Wisconsin. After teaching at Indiana State Teachers College and Ball State Teachers College, he joined the history department at Indiana University in 1920 and taught there until 1941. His specialties were southern and political history, and his best-known work, *Fifty Years of Party Warfare,* was in the latter field. He served as president of the Indiana Historical Society (1947–49), editor of the *Indiana Magazine of History* (1928–41), and president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (1938–39). He was a life member of the American Historical Association.

Mary Helen Humphrey, a life member of the American Historical Association since 1906, died in Simsbury, Connecticut, on April 12, 1957.

Godfrey Davies, authority on English seventeenth-century history, died on May 28, 1957, in Pasadena, California. Born in Cirencester, England, in 1892, he was educated at Pembroke College, Oxford, and taught and lectured there until 1924. He became assistant professor of history at the University of Chicago in 1925 and joined the research staff of the Huntington Library at San Marino in 1930. He established himself as an authority with his editions of the *Guise and Raymond Mémoires* (1917), the *Papers of Devotion of King James II* (1925), and his *Early History of the Coldstream Guards* (1924). His *Bibliography of British History, Stuart Period* (1928) is a work of reference still in constant use. Among his later historical works his volume *The Early Stuarts* (1937), the *Regimental History of Cromwell's Army,* written in collaboration with Sir Charles Firth (1940), and his continuation down to the Restoration of Charles II of Firth's *History of the Protectorate* (1954) are the most notable. He edited the *Huntington Library Quarterly* from 1937 to 1948 and lectured for some years at the California Institute of Technology and the University of California at Los Angeles. He will be remembered as a man of much learning, an accurate and insatiable student of the original authorities on British seventeenth-century history who made many additions to our knowledge of it and did much to maintain the central tradition regarding it against eccentric revisions from writers of the left and the right.

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A. T. Volwiler, formerly chairman of the department of history at Ohio University, Athens, died on June 25, 1957. Born in Cincinnati, he graduated from Miami University in 1910, received a master's degree from the University of Chicago in 1911 and the doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania in 1922. He was professor and chairman of the department of history at Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, before going to Ohio University in 1933. He was chairman of the history department there from 1947 to 1955, served as president of the Ohio Academy of History and as a member of the Ohio War History Commission, and was the author of several books and numerous historical articles. He will be remembered by his many friends in the profession as a meticulous scholar and an excellent teacher.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

With a great delay I have read in your quarterly (October, 1956) Mr. Arthur Leon Horniker's review of my study, *Ze studiów nad imperializmem niemieckim: Sprawa misji gen. Limana von Sander w Turcji* (Lublin, 1955). I would be much obliged if you would let the readers of the *American Historical Review* know that Mr. Horniker's opinion was a shock to me. Mr. Horniker maintains that I have put forward—contrary to the facts—a Leninist interpretation of the subject and have given my study an anti-German character. Mr. Horniker evidently formed such an opinion only because the study was published in Poland in 1955 and its subject was German imperialism, for the study itself does not contain adequate material to support such opinion. I am not a Leninist nor was I influenced by anti-German sentiments; the aim of my book was to throw some new light on the very important and so far not sufficiently explored problem of General Liman von Sanders' mission in Turkey.

I have been quite taken aback by Mr. Horniker's peremptory statement that there was no connection between the mission and the penetration of German capital into the Near East. It is enough to have a look at some of the German, Austrian, and English diplomatic documents of that time to see that such a connection existed (e.g., *Grosse Politik:* Nos. 14957, 15004, 15376, 15436, 15449; *Österreich-Ungarns Aussenpolitik:* No. 9505; *British Documents,* Vols. X, Pt. I: No. 391).

I think that I have not exaggerated the connection between General Liman von Sanders' mission and German capital in the Near East but rather made them not obvious enough. Therefore, I dealt with this particular problem in my latest Study, *Imperializm niemiecki a Turcja 1912/13* (Poznan, 1956).

Lublin, Poland Jerzy Łukaszewski

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

I have no way of judging whether Dr. Jerzy Łukaszewski is or is not a Leninist, nor have I stated that he is one. Careful scrutiny of *Ze studiów* left me no alternative but to point out that his investigation of the affair of General Liman von Sanders' mission to Turkey is within a Leninist frame of reference. This is clear from a reading of the text beginning with page 10, where he sketches the

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high stage of German economic development that led to an extensive trade with and the financial capital penetration of the Near East, buttressed with citations from Lenin's *Imperialism* and from other writers accepting the myth. But as I indicated, the author never really establishes the direct links that had allegedly existed between the financial capital penetration and Liman von Sanders' mission which in his view was the decisive step of German imperialism toward the political subordination of Turkey. In fact, he himself recognizes that he has not made the connections "obvious enough."

Of the eight documents, which according to Dr. Łukaszewski ostensibly establish such connections, I find only three cited in the study: No. 15436 on page 29 and Nos. 15449 and 391 on page 36. They do not touch on the matter at hand. Interestingly enough, they document the political difficulties encountered by Germany in Turkey rather than its domination of the empire. Furthermore, it really is surprising that the author has not challenged my main arguments in the review regarding Russia's designs on the Ottoman Empire and her role in the international crisis created by the Liman von Sanders military mission.

While Dr. Łukaszewski disclaims anti-German sentiments, I, though animated by such sentiments, was annoyed by the anti-German bias of the study, which he presents as a "scientific" investigation of the affair.

Washington, D. C. ARTHUR LEON HORNIKER

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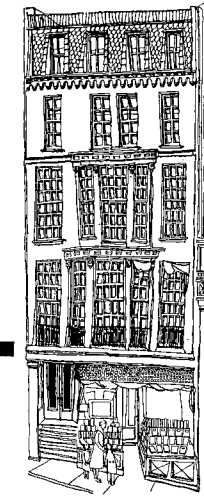
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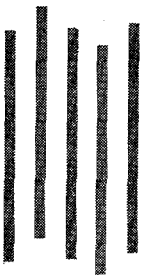
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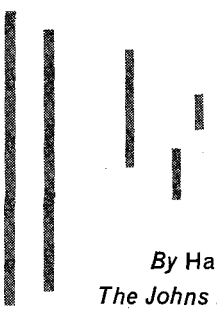


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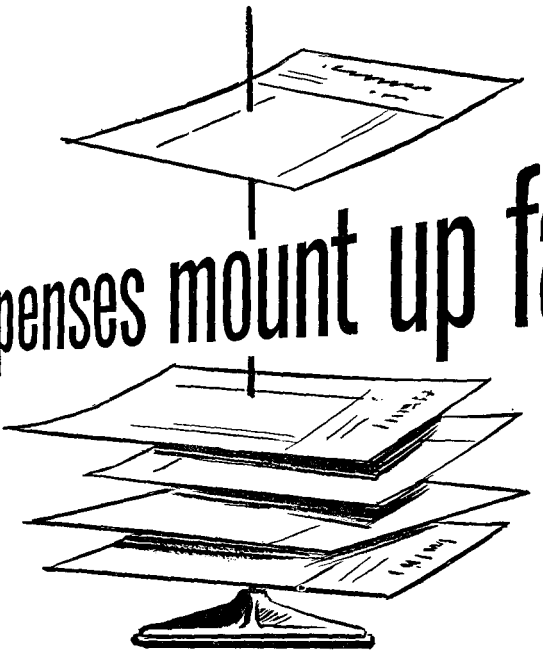
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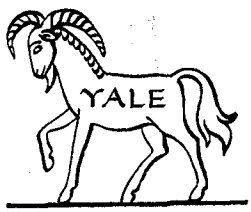
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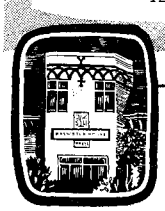
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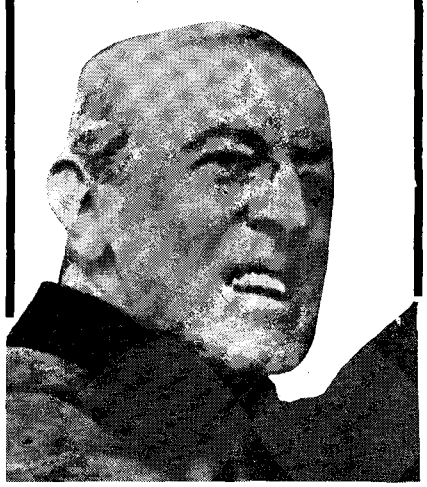
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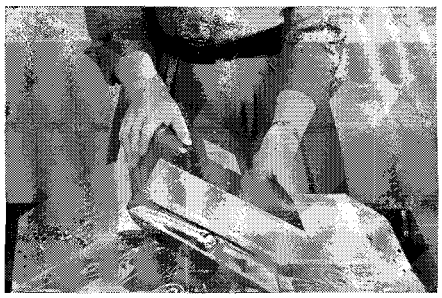
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